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**Leadership in Extended Schools:
Working in an Inter-Agency Collaborative Context**

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BA (History and Social and Political Sciences)
MA (Education Leadership and Innovation)
MRes (Educational Research Methods)

**A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in
Educational Leadership and Management**

Centre for Research in Education and Educational Technology

**The Open University
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June 2011



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Declaration

This thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis by which I have qualified for or been awarded another degree or diploma. No other person's work has been used without due acknowledgement in the main text of the thesis.

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Abstract

This study examines the leadership practices of practitioners involved in implementing the UK Government's extended schools programme. It specifically explores how leaders deal with a variety of situations and tasks while working within an inter-organizational collaborative context involving schools, community and partner organizations. The study's conceptual framework is based on theories about social capital (Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000) and on the theory of collaborative advantage (Huxham & Vangen, 2005). A multi-perspective qualitative case study design was adopted, utilising semi-structured interviews, documentary analysis, and observation to collect data during a ten-month period in one local authority in a city in England. The interview data were collected from 20 participants from schools, the local authority, and different partner organizations working with selected schools. These data were cross-referenced with observations of leadership practice and a range of available documentation.

This study highlights the challenging task for practitioners of synthesising multiple government initiatives into a coherent strategy of partnership working. Findings indicate the value of the extended schooling programme as an opportunity for improving the life chances of children and their families, and illuminate the functioning of schools as 'appropriable social organizations' (Coleman, 1990) which can not only assist educational purposes but build social capital more generally. This study shows that building and using aspects of social capital - such as networks, trust, shared values and norms - is essential if leadership practice is to promote effective inter-agency collaboration. However, the study argues that there is a danger of exaggerating the capacity of collaborative leadership, since the problems faced by people in deprived communities are not easily resolved by short-term inter-agency partnership working. Nevertheless, its potential contribution should not be underestimated, and this thesis provides a framework for understanding and promoting collaborative leadership in inter-organizational contexts.

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Acronyms

CAF	Common Assessment Framework
CAMHS	Children and Adolescent Mental Health Services
DCSF	Department for Children, Schools and Families
DfES	Department for Education and Skills
DfE	Department for Education
EPAs	Educational Priority Areas
ECM	Every Child Matters
EMAS	Ethnic Minority Achievement Support
ES	Extended Schools
FSES	Full service extended schools
ICT	Information and communication technology
LA	Local authority
NCSL	National College for School Leadership
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
Ofsted	Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills
TAC	Team Around the Child
TDA	Training and Development Agency for Schools
UFA	University of the First Age
YOT	Youth Offending Team

Chapter 1. Background To The Study

1.1 Introduction

In 2005, the UK government launched the extended schools scheme in England with the aim of providing 'a range of services and activities, often beyond the school day, to help meet the needs of children and their families from all backgrounds and the wider community' (DfES, 2005:7). Central to this policy was the requirement that schools, local private and voluntary sector providers and the various other agencies in local communities collaborate to enhance service provision that helps to deliver 'the Government's objective of lifting children out of poverty and improving outcomes for them and their families' (DCSF, 2007:2).

In this study I examine how leaders in schools, the local authority, community and partner agencies perceived the extended schools educational programme, their adaptation to the new policy, strategies they use to implement it, and which leadership practices facilitated this policy. In particular, I explore the extent to which the building and use of social capital was necessary for leaders to promote collaborative working.

In recent years, there has been increasing interest in the partnerships between schools, families, and communities as a means for promoting student achievement (e.g. Hands, 2010; Harris & Goodall 2008; Muijs et al., 2004; Sanders & Epstein, 1998; Epstein et al., 1997). Scholars claim that children are most influenced by their families and the local communities in which they live, so that it is important to create a school that is best able to help children learn with the support of families and the community (e.g. Sanders, 2005, 2003, 2002, 2001, 1998; Epstein et al., 2002; Dryfoos, 2008, 1995, 1994; Hiemstra, 1997, 1982). Proponents of community involvement contend that through a variety of community volunteer and service integration programmes, schools can become 'islands of hope' for

students whose social environments are increasingly stressed and fragmented (Dryfoos, 2008, 1995; Dryfoos & Maguire, 2002; Hiemstra, 1997, 1982).

Traditionally, community involvement has been seen as one of a school's most valuable resources. Writing in 1915 John Dewey argued:

'The role of the community in making the school vital is just as important as the role of the school itself. For in a community where schools are looked upon as isolated institutions, as a necessary convention, the school will remain largely so in spite of the most skilful methods of teaching. But a community that demands something visible from its schools, that recognises the part they play in the welfare of the whole... Such a community will have social schools, and whatever its resources, it will have schools that develop community spirit and interests' (Dewey, 1915, cited in Skilbeck, 1970:125).

The notion of 'social schools' is similar to views on community schools or extended schools. They are often described in the literature as a 'hub' of the community - schools being *for* their communities not only *in* their communities (e.g. Dryfoos, 1994). The extended schools programme was aimed at creating a more responsive and supportive learning environment by developing close links with families and community members, thereby addressing the issue of social exclusion. The expectation was that a community-oriented approach might simultaneously tackle a series of perceived social problems such as poor parenting, low skills, and poor health and help drive up standards of educational attainment (e.g. Raffo & Dyson, 2007). Power et al. (2002) conclude in their study: 'schools serving deprived populations could do more to ensure better home-school relations, which appear to be less facilitative than those in schools serving non-deprived areas' (p.66).

To date there has been little agreement on whether or not there is a direct causal relationship between high community involvement and improving students' outcomes. Mulford and Silins (2001) suggest that: 'if a choice needs to be made between working with and being sensitive to the community and improving home educational environments, then the latter will have more direct and immediate "payoff" for student outcomes... Of course, having a strong community focus may be important for other reasons such as for

the development of social capital in the community, especially in poor inner city and rural communities' (p.5).

It is becoming increasingly difficult to ignore the role of social capital in discussions about education. Field (2003) claims that the central thesis of social capital can be summed up in two words: 'relationships matter' (p.1). He points out that by making connections with one another, and keeping them going over time, people are able to work together to achieve things they either could not achieve by themselves, or could achieve only with great difficulty. Discussing social capital and education, he argues that there are close causal links between people's social networks and their educational performance. Similarly, for Putnam (2000) there is correlation between levels of social capital and success in the education system:

'States which score high on the Social Capital Index¹ – that is, states whose residents trust other people, join organizations, volunteer, vote and socialise with friends – are the same states where children flourish: where babies are born healthy and where teenagers tend not to become parents, drop out of school, get involved in violent crime, or die prematurely due to suicide or homicide. Statistically, the correlation between high social capital and positive child development is as close to perfect as social scientists ever find in data analysis of this sort' (Putnam, 2000:296/7)

More recently, literature has emerged (e.g. Otero & West-Burnham, 2007) that offers the view that school improvement leads to bonding, introspection and detachment and while this creates institutional integrity, it compromises engagement and networking – the basis of the creation of social capital. Furthermore, if academic standards are to be raised in a sustainable way and broader educational aspirations achieved then educationists will have to see their role in terms of creating social capital rather than just improving classroom practice (Otero & West-Burnham, 2007:6).

The key for the effective implementation of the extended schools programme is a 'joined-up' collaboration between schools, partner agencies, and community members.

¹ A social capital index was created by assigning one point to each of the following indicators: 1) measures of community organizational life; 2) measures of engagement in public affairs; 3) measures of community volunteerism; 3) measures of informal sociability; 4) measures of social trust; 5) measures of parental educational involvement. (Source: Putnam, 2001:68).

Identifying a Gap in the Literature

Recently, the ability to work collaboratively and the emergence of a range of collaborative activities across public-sector organizations has become an important subject for research. In schools the shift towards partnership working could be seen as a central characteristic of contemporary schooling. Hopkins (2009) notes:

'Even a dozen years ago, few would have predicted the amount of collaboration and mutual support in the schools system today. The shift from competition to collaboration, from top-down control to organizational autonomy has been quite remarkable' (Hopkins, 2009:2).

Despite the popularity of the idea of collaboration, many writers caution about the difficulties in bringing about effective inter-agency working that results in better outcomes for young people (e.g. Dyson, et al., 2009; Ainscow et al., 2008; Ainscow & West, 2006a). For example, Dyson et al. (2009) claim that during the New Labour government years there was 'a high level of policy activity at the centre and an overwhelming desire to manage working practices on the ground, without the corresponding capacity to think issues through in depth or deliver workable solutions to practitioners' (p.148). Similarly, Ball (2008) argues that 'collaboration and partnership are policy buzzwords'; partnership is 'a favourite word in the lexicon of New Labour' (Falconer & Mclaughlin, 2000:12), 'although its meaning in relation to practice is often vague and slippery and carries dangers of being made meaningless by overuse' (p.142). Partnerships are everywhere – 'partnershipitis', Huxham and Vangen (2000a:303) call it. There is increasing concern that the successful use of partnerships and collaboration is far from straightforward within the English context, where competition and choice continue to be the major driving force of national educational policy (e.g. Ball, 2008). West (2010) has argued that 'powerful levers are needed that will challenge existing assumptions and, at the same time, move thinking and practice forward' (p.110).

Policy documents associated with the extended schooling programme suggested that 'leadership at all levels is critical to the development of extended services and to raising

standards' (DCSF, 2007:8) and leadership is seen as the key to effective collaboration. However, knowing and believing that leaders need to collaborate in order to work effectively within the school community and with partner agencies has not, in itself, provided educators with an understanding of how they might change their own situation to produce greater collaboration. Dyson (2006) argues for something that might be called 'contextualized' leadership (p.128) in extended schools. Specific research on leadership in extended schools is rare, though there is some evidence of the leadership challenges in the broader literature on leadership, such as the need for careful planning and preparation for setting up the necessary collaborative arrangements, as well as the emphasis on common aims and issues of power and influence (e.g. Muijs, 2007; Abrams & Gibbs, 2000).

While there is an emerging evidence base concerning schools, family and community collaboration, and inter-agency partnership working, far too little attention has been paid to collaborative leadership practice in schools, the local authority and partner agencies attempting to implement the extended schools programme.

Most studies of collaborative educational policy initiatives have focused largely on single organizations, and leadership in those organizations, rather than on exploring leadership across those actors involved in daily collaborative practices at different institutional levels and locations. There have been no in-depth and strongly conceptualized studies of the extended schools programme or of leadership practices in this context. Therefore, this research aims both at examining the implementation of the UK Government extended schools programme and at investigating the leadership practices in an inter-organizational context involving schools, the local authority and partner agencies.

Emerging from the discussion above, I sought to answer the following questions:

1. How do leaders in schools, the local authority and partner agencies perceive the extended schools programme?

2. What leadership practices are adopted to promote the development of the extended services activities?

2(a) what leadership practices are associated with encouraging further community participation?

2(b) what leadership practices optimise the development of the inter-agency collaboration?

In seeking to answer these research questions I have adopted the theory of social capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1990, 1988; and Putnam, 2000, 1996, 1995) and the theory of collaborative advantage (Huxham & Vangen, 2005, 2000a). These theories will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

Significance of the Study

Promoting collaboration across schools, community and partner agencies was a key aspect of the educational policy of the New Labour Government in the period of 1997-2010. This study is designed to contribute to our understanding of this policy. Furthermore, this thesis offers a view of effective leadership practices for working in inter-agency collaborative contexts.

In the following section of this chapter I will provide a brief overview of the educational policy context in England in the relevant period, the historical background of extended and community schooling and will discuss the aims of the extended schools programme implemented by the UK government.

1.2 The Educational Policy Context in England at the End of the Twentieth Century and the Beginning of the Twenty-First Century

The central principle of education policy under the New Labour government was made very clear: 'We are talking about investing in human capital in an age of knowledge to compete in the global economy' (DfEE, 1997:3). Tackling social exclusion and educational disadvantage was a major focus of the British government educational policy during this period. A series of initiatives aimed at supporting and improving education were undertaken and particularly in schools serving disadvantaged populations, for example: Education Action Zones (EAZs), the Excellence in Cities programme, Behaviour and Education Support Teams (BESTs), the Behaviour Improvement Programme (BIP), the Beacon Schools scheme, the Healthy Schools programme, and the Specialist Schools programme. Garmanikow and Green (1999b) suggest that Education Action Zones, introduced in England and Wales in late 1990s, exemplify a government intention to raise overall educational achievement by rebuilding social capital 'in areas of severe deprivation and educational underperformance'. These new approaches also emphasise aspects of the 'citizen-led' services and involvement of new policy actors from business and the voluntary sector (Ball, 2008:156). A member of the New Labour Government - Alan Milburn, (2006) pointed out: 'Doing things to people will no longer do. Doing things with them is the key – whether to improving health, fighting crime, regenerating neighbourhoods or protecting the environment'. While these initiatives were partly aimed at improving internal school processes, some of them were also designed to encourage schools to think about how they relate to other schools serving the same area, and about their relationships with the communities they serve and with other agencies (Raffo & Dyson, 2007).

According to Ball (2008), the policy work of New Labour had reconstructed the nature of educational problems and redistributed blame, producing new kinds of policy solutions. He

suggests that 'these aspects of policy change are, in other words, "joined up" in two senses: first, solutions to educational problems are sought in part through changes in forms of governance; second, educational problems are linked both with the needs of the economy and to social problems, for example, through "failing" parents and "dysfunctional families" to disaffection, truancy, school and social exclusion and crime and anti-social behaviour' (Ball, 2008:157).

In 2003 the UK government launched its Every Child Matters (DfES, 2003a) agenda. All children's services were expected to contribute to achieving five outcomes for children: (1) being healthy: enjoying good physical and mental health and living a healthy lifestyle; (2) staying safe: being protected from harm and neglect; (3) enjoying and achieving: getting the most out of life and developing the skills for adulthood; (4) making a positive contribution: being involved with the community and society and not engaging in anti-social or offending behaviour; (5) economic well-being: not being prevented by economic disadvantage from achieving their full potential in life (DfES, 2003a:6-7).

The Every Child Matters agenda (DfES, 2003a) and the Children Act (DfES, 2004a) were the key policy documents that advocated a closer integration of the work of education and social services departments with health services in the interests of children, to be achieved by the establishment of unified children's services departments in local authorities, working within the framework of Children's Trusts. The further connection between school improvement and community development has been reinforced in the revised National Standards for Headteachers (DfES, 2004b). These make explicit the need for headteachers to assume a community role and to 'commit to engaging with the internal and external school community, to secure equity and entitlement' and to 'work collaboratively at both strategic and operational levels with parents and carers and across multiple agencies for the well-being of all children' (DfES, 2004b:11). Furthermore, from April 2004 it is mandatory for all first-time heads to hold National Professional Qualifications for Headship (NPQH), or to be working towards it. The Leadership

Programme for Serving Head teachers (LPSH) provided experienced heads with an opportunity to focus on how their leadership influences standards in schools. Ball (2008) claims that 'New Labour's "transformational leaders" are expected to instill responsiveness, efficiency and performance improvement into the public sector but also to be dynamic, visionary, risk-taking, entrepreneurial individuals who can "turn around" histories of "failure" deploying their personal qualities in so doing' (p.140).

A later policy document '*Extended schools: Access to opportunities and services for all. A prospectus*' (DfES, 2005) required that schools should have wider and stronger relationships with their community through extended schools initiatives. Furthermore, schools have to provide a 'Core offer' of extended services, themselves or in partnership with other agencies, that includes:

- (1) Childcare that is of good quality and affordable;
- (2) A varied menu of after-school activities such as homework clubs and study support, sport, music tuition, dance and drama, arts and crafts, special interest clubs, learning a foreign language, volunteering, business and enterprise activities;
- (3) Parenting support: including information sessions for parents at key transition points, family learning sessions which allow children to learn with their parents;
- (4) Swift and easy referral to a wider range of specialist support services such as speech therapy, child and adolescent mental health services, family support services, intensive behaviour support, and (for young people) sexual health services;
- (5) Community access to ICT, sports and arts facilities, including adult learning (DfES, 2005:8).

The Core offer is intended to ensure that all children and parents have access to a minimum of service and activities. 'Extended School' is not a status that schools centrally apply for as there is no blueprint for the types of activities that schools might offer (DfES, 2005:8). Furthermore, 'how these services look and are delivered in or through a particular school will vary' (DfES, 2005:8).

Schools were expected to work closely with parents to shape these activities around the needs of their communities. Furthermore, schools had to work in partnership with their local authority, local providers and other schools. It was a strong belief behind the policy that building links and collaboration with external agencies in various ways would support vulnerable children and the broader community. The main emphasis was on the role of parents and communities in children's education, which was further reinforced by the Children's Plan (DCSF, 2007b). At the core of the Children's Plan was the firm belief that parental engagement makes a significant difference to educational outcomes and that parents and carers have a key role to play in raising educational standards. In addition, the Children's Plan (2007b) requires schools to work to promote community cohesion. According to the 'Guidance on the duty to promote community cohesion' (DCSF, 2007c) schools need to consider 'engagement and extended services' (p.7) to promote community cohesion through consultation, by working in clusters with other schools, by 'working with local voluntary and community groups to build stronger relationships with the community, increase the range of activities and services they can offer, and gain expertise in working with different groups who are already established in their area' (p.11).

As mentioned above, social capital theory has been gaining significance in relation to a number of fields, for example: the identification of factors influencing educational attainment; different levels of participation in formal and informal adult education; practices favorable to lifelong learning; the maintenance and enhancement of social cohesiveness, social integration and political stability; and the economic growth potential of communities, regions and more latterly societies and nations (e.g. McClenaghan, 2000). Worley (2005) claims that social capital was an important part of the New Labour government community cohesion agenda, emphasising as it does the shared values that can bind communities. And, as part of this, the extended schools programme was also seen as a vehicle for building social capital in schools and in their local communities.

In 2005 the UK government proposed to make all schools provide a range of extended services by 2010. There are some claims (e.g. Middlewood & Parker, 2009) that in setting this programme, and by championing the Every Child Matters philosophy the UK government had set itself an immensely demanding task, especially given the tight deadline.

Dyson et al. (2009) argue that above all the Every Child Matters (ECM) agenda offered a list of desirable outcomes, but no indication of how these outcomes were to relate to one another. They claim that, for children's professionals on the ground, the outcomes framework offered much less clear guidance to practice than was expected. On the other hand, because educational policy was 'underspecified and underconceptualized', spaces were created within which local practitioners and decision-makers could begin to work their way towards their own solutions' (Dyson, et al., 2009:148). Other advocates (e.g. Cheminais, 2009; Wilkin et al., 2008; Harris et al., 2007) suggest that the ECM provided a framework for all services to work with a 'common point of reference with which to track progress', that it 'acts as a catalyst for change', and has also 'facilitated collaborative working practices and encouraged service providers to develop inter-agency teams in order to achieve integrated front-line working' (Wilkin et al, 2008:9).

Based on this discussion it, therefore, becomes important to find out how governmental policies as aimed at tackling social exclusion and educational deprivation, and building community cohesion and social capital, are undertaken, and how far this involves collaboration among practitioners from education, health, social services, and community and voluntary organizations working to implement the extended schools programme in England. It is also necessary to clarify the notion of extended schools.

1.3 Extended Schools, Community Schools: Historical Roots and Cross-country Perspectives

The concept of the extended or community school is not new. Dewey talked about the school as the community and the community as the school. He believed that:

'... the significant thing is to make the school...a centre of full and adequate social service [and] to bring it into the current of social life' (Dewey, 1978:80)

There is a long tradition of some schools in England, US, Australia, Scotland, and elsewhere engaging more fully with the communities they serve and offering additional child and family services on the school's site.

A large and growing body of literature shows that a single model of extended schools has not emerged in England or in other countries (e.g. Dyson, 2009; Sammons et al., 2003; James et al., 2001; Dryfoos, 1994; Hiemstra, 1997). They carry different labels in different places - community schools, full service schools, extended schools, 'schools plus', the neighborhood school. While a variety of terms have been suggested, Dyson (2009) maintains that it is best to refer to these schools as 'community focused' schools. In the following discussion I will provide an overview of the development of the concept based on evidence from the UK and the USA.

Dryfoos (2000) suggests that 'community school' is an inclusive term, encompassing a growing number of school-community initiatives that feature both common themes and different approaches. Furthermore, community schools also vary in their goals: some specifically aim to improve academic achievement while others focus primarily on health and behavioural outcomes or enhanced family functioning (Dryfoos, 2000). A community school, according to Hiemstra (1997, 1982), is usually open for many hours each day and school personnel work to help both youth and adults in solving various community and

social problems. In addition, when the community school process or philosophy is fully implemented, citizens contribute in many ways to school programmes (Hiemstra, 1997).

The origins of 'community education' in England are usually traced to a paper submitted by Henry Morris, Secretary for Education for Cambridgeshire, to his Committee in 1924 entitled 'Memorandum on *The Village College*'. Morris was concerned that the expanding and industrialised towns were threatening the rural way of life, and that the countryside was losing its leaders 'the ablest of them ... stolen by the town', and was not able to keep pace with innovations necessary for its reconstruction (Baron, 1989:84).

Morris' plan was to provide 'about ten village colleges' across Cambridgeshire combining primary, secondary, further and adult education, together with social and recreational facilities. He longed for 'an educational institution that at one and the same time provided for the needs of the whole family and consolidated its life - its social, physical, intellectual and economic life' (Rée, 1984:22). And beyond that he listed in his 'memorandum' a whole range of voluntary and statutory agencies, arguing that 'all the activities and facilities that already exist in the countryside, and all those which by statute could be provided, should be brought together in and around one institution' in a 'remarkable synthesis' (Rée, 1984:25/6).

The community school movement in the US, according to Hiemstra (1997, 1982), began in Flint, Michigan between 1932 and 1935. The community school concept at that time had been synonymous with several terms: 'the open-door policy', 'the lighted school house', and 'the neighbourhood school' (Hiemstra, 1997). The neighbourhood school or community school was seen as simply a school within easy access of local residents; access meaning close proximity to where people live, a school open most hours of the year, and educational programs designed for, and in cooperation with, the residents (Hiemstra, 1997).

These examples of the community school movement suggest the lack of an agreed label and agreement of how these schools might operate, what their aims should be and what kind of outcomes they might produce.

Morris's influence on the future of education in England was relatively modest. It was not until the 1960s that 'community education' principles began directly to be applied in any significant way at the primary level, and then without explicit reference to Morris (Clark, 1996). The national catalyst was the Plowden Report (1967) *Children and their Primary School*.

It began with the premise that 'at the heart of the educational process lies the child'. It is this child-centeredness which shapes many of its conclusions and recommendations and for which it was subsequently criticized by conservative educationalists. It was also more preoccupied than earlier national reports with 'disadvantaged' children and with the effects of cultural and class differences in parental attitudes. This led to its most radical recommendation for positive discrimination through the provision of extra resources for 'Educational Priority Areas' (EPAs). The aim was to reach the ten per cent of most deprived children. The report also advocated greater involvement of parents in schools. This recommendation derived directly from its own research, which showed that parental attitudes accounted for a much higher proportion of the variation in achievement than variables relating to home circumstances or schooling. Another of Plowden's important recommendations was the expansion of pre-school education for children under five. Part of the rationale for more nursery education was to support improved educational outcomes for children from low income families with priority for this expansion in Educational Priority Areas (EPAs). Implicit was the assumption that an earlier start at school would enrich the environment of working-class urban children or even compensate for the poverty, both cultural and economic, of their homes (Blackstone, 2010:79).

The government established five action-research projects in EPAs with four objectives:

- to raise the children's educational performance;
- to improve the children's morale;
- to increase parental involvement in their children's education, and
- to increase people's sense of community responsibility (Clark, 1996:18).

The EPA Research Project adopted a much more radical stance than Plowden. Whereas Plowden defined '*the community school*' as 'a school which is open beyond the ordinary school hours for the use of children, their parents and, exceptionally, for other members of the community' (Halsey, 1972:134), the research project workers wanted to obliterate the boundary between school and community. They saw the school not only as a place of educational encounter and exchange for all kinds of local residents and groups, but as a catalyst for social and political change (Clark, 1996:19).

Another important step in the development of community schools occurred in the 1990s in the US. Dryfoos (1994) suggested that the term 'full-service school' was first used in 1991 when the Florida legislature provided funding to support a system of inter-agency collaboration with mandates to make a comprehensive package of human services available in school buildings (McMahon et al., 2000). Dryfoos (1994) defined the full-service school as a concept to guide the organization of service delivery systems designed to promote the physical, emotional, social, and academic growth of children living in high-risk environments.

Dyson (2009) argues that Dryfoos and Morris are separated not so much by time as by context – urban disadvantage versus rural remoteness, by different views of what is needed in those contexts to create a viable society in which all people have acceptable life chances, and by differing conclusions as to the part that schools can play in this process. For Dryfoos (2008), schools have to become foci for interventions in the lives of children and their families in order to overcome the pressing problems created by poverty.

She suggests that: 'to address the achievement gap in a meaningful way, we need to reach beyond the traditional school boundaries, involving the community in combating the effects of poverty on children and their families' (Dryfoos, 2008:38). For Morris, on the other hand, schools were community hubs, enriching the lives and opportunities of local people, and contributing to the viability of their communities.

There was a further step in the development of the community schools movement in the UK in 1998 in Scotland, where the New Community Schools Programme (or, later Integrated Community Schools Programme) was launched. The NCS Programme was charged with expanding and integrating the range of services offered to young people in disadvantaged areas with the intention of both raising attainment and promoting social inclusion.

However, my focus in this thesis is on the extended schools programme launched by the New Labour Government at the beginning of the twenty-first century. This sought to explore the potential for schools with a community orientation to play a distinctive role in raising standards of achievement and in promoting social inclusion, particularly in areas of disadvantage (Cummings et al., 2007). In the first instance, the 1999 'Schools Plus' report (DfEE, 1999) proposed that schools might play a key role in the emerging renewal strategy (Social Exclusion Unit, 1998). Subsequently, the government sponsored a range of pilot programmes – called 'extended schools', including demonstration and Pathfinder projects and a programme of 'full service extended schools in every LEA area' (DfES, 2002, 2003b). At the same time, there was a similar initiative, the Community-focused Schools, in Wales (National Assembly for Wales, 2003) and later in Northern Ireland (DENI, 2009).

Based on their evaluation of the extended schools Pathfinder project in England, Cummings et al. (2004) suggested that the task of extended schools can be defined in the following terms:

'An extended school maximises the curricular learning of its pupils by promoting their overall development and by ensuring that the family and community contexts within which they live are as supportive of learning as possible' (Cummings et al., 2004:iv).

This definition describes the role of the school while the role of the community is not clearly identified. In the research on community or full-service schools in the US, McMahon et al. (2000) suggest that the concept of full-service schools embraces the need for inter-agency collaboration and service integration, and emphasises the importance of community development.

Dyson (2009) summarised features that are common to community focused schools in many places. These are:

- extra-curricular provision for students;
- support for students' social and health needs (often provided by professionals other than teachers);
- work with students' families;
- wider community involvement.

Overall, the concept of extended school or community-focused schools raises questions about what schools might be and do, and how schooling might relate to policies aimed at addressing social exclusion and improving life chances of children, parents and the communities.

1.4 Research Evidence About Extended and Community Schools

Reviewing the literature (e.g. Dyson, 2009; Cummings et al., 2010; 2007; 2004; Warren, 2005; Dryfoos, 2000; McMahon et al., 2000) shows that it is difficult to evaluate robustly the evidence across a range of contexts in which extended and community schools have developed. Dyson (2009) argues that whilst there are substantial research literatures dealing with schools in disadvantaged areas, school-community relations and other cognate topics, the research base that deals specifically with schools of this kind is limited

both empirically and theoretically. Similarly, Wilkin et al. (2003) claim that much of the literature on extended schools tends to be descriptive, advisory or exhortatory. Dryfoos (2000) maintains that the quality of the studies on community schools varies enormously and evaluation is difficult, expensive and long-term. One major criticism made by McMahon et al. (2000) is that: 'there has been little systematic analysis of the factors hampering local efforts to define, develop, and evaluate full-service schools' (p.71).

There is limited evidence available about the overall impact on children, families, and communities of extended schools per se. Most evaluations have focused on schools that are trying to improve educational and life chance outcomes for disadvantaged students and adults, and, within that, have focused on those outcomes that are easiest to measure (Dyson, 2009:6). However, the complex, multiplex nature of most community or extended schools make the identification and attribution of outcome effects difficult, and there are real doubts about the quality of research that has been produced so far (Wilkin et al., 2003; Keyes & Gregg, 2001). Furthermore, most of the evidence is weak, in large part because the task of showing that the effects claimed have occurred, and that these were the results of extended schooling, is so difficult.

This does not mean that there is not good practice and outcomes from extended schools or community schools but the evidence that is available only points towards a positive, but somewhat tentative, conclusion (e.g. Henderson & Mapp, 2002; Sammons et al., 2003). For example, Blank and Berg (2006) report that 81 percent of community schools in Chicago were showing improvement in academic achievement, compared with 74 percent of regular public schools. They claim that Chicago has been able to sustain the largest community schools initiative in the US, with 102 out of a total of 613 schools operating as community schools (Blank & Berg, 2006:16). However, the authors provide little information about how the comparison was done and what factors have generated this difference. Another study, a three-year evaluation of the Community Schools Initiative conducted by the University of Chicago, showed overall academic improvement in

completion of homework and in academic performance; as well as in students' participation in class and their classroom behaviour. The survey involved 110 elementary and high schools working closely with 45 lead partner agencies. Two third of schools (65%) increased their parental engagement (Whalen, 2007).

The evaluation of the New Community Schools project in Scotland (Sammons et al., 2003), which involved 170 schools in 30 local authorities, was able to find little evidence for an impact on learning outcomes from its analysis of school and student performance data, but there was evidence of increased community engagement and the development of greater links between schools and local voluntary and community organizations. These results echo those of the evaluation of the Victorian Full Service Schools programme in Australia, which was found to have some benefits for students unlikely to stay on at school, while not showing significant wider benefits (James et al., 2001).

The evaluation of the Extended Schools Pathfinder Project in England (Cummings et al., 2004) and the subsequent evaluations of the Full Service Extended Schools Projects (Cummings et al., 2007; 2006; 2004) commissioned by the DfES, suggest that the extended services activities showed positive impacts on highly disadvantaged children and families. Typically, schools claimed that they were aiming to change attitudes towards learning and wider cultures of aspiration and achievement in families and communities as a means of changing attitudes and levels of achievement amongst their students (Raffo & Dyson, 2007:267). A quantitative study of perceptions and usage of extended services in schools conducted by Ipsos MORI (Wallace et al., 2008) and commissioned by the DCSF, on the other hand, suggests that pupils from more deprived backgrounds are less likely to use activities and childcare, especially those from families where parents do not work or only one parent works.

Studies by Harris et al. (2007) and Wilkin et al. (2008) claim that extended services activities in schools in England resulted in improvements in pupil attendance and

behaviour, and reduction in exclusions; as well as improvement in learning and wellbeing. These studies also suggest that extended schools activities enhanced knowledge and awareness of local services and encouraged more parents and community groups to link up with schools.

Ofsted reports (2009; 2008; 2006) claim that there are benefits for children, young people and adults from extended services, including enhanced self-confidence, improved relationships, raised aspirations and better attitudes to learning. However, these reports also presented a somewhat complex picture. For example, Ofsted (2008) concluded that schools may 'not do enough to reach out to particularly vulnerable individuals or families, or those living beyond the immediate neighborhood' (p,6). Furthermore, there is limited evidence of 'transferability' of children's success to their lives outside the schools.

Based on their evaluation of the Extended Services Disadvantage Pathfinder, Peters et al. (2009) underline the challenge of ensuring that disadvantaged groups access services but also confirm that there is much that schools can do in response to this challenge.

The recent report published in the UK by the Department for Education (see Carpenter et al., 2010), following a telephone survey of 1,500 extended schools and a postal survey of 363 schools claims that in two thirds of schools the development of extended services has had some influence in raising attainment. Furthermore, the report suggests that 82 per cent of secondary schools, 65 per cent of primary and 51 per cent of specialist schools were offering the full core offer of extended services (DfE, 2010).

Many of the studies reported above claimed that leadership is one of the key factors in organising the successful development of extended services on the ground (e.g. Dyson, 2009; Ofsted, 2009; Harris et al., 2007; Muijs, 2007; Kendall et al., 2007; Sammons et al., 2003). In particular, there is a strong message from the US community schools that success in implementing the complex community-school model depends on relationships,

starting with the principal's ability to communicate with partner agencies and to negotiate policies.

This discussion above suggests that addressing social exclusion and educational disadvantage has been in the focus of educational policy in the UK for many years. It is clear that the major part of the educational initiatives undertaken in the last decade or so have been aimed not only at raising educational attainment but also at transforming disadvantaged communities and improving life chances of children and their parents.

The evidence from the literature suggests that the idea of extended schools is not entirely a 'new' strategy, but the scope of the intervention and the focus on community involvement and inter-agency collaboration in the recent extended schools initiative differ from examples in various contexts in the past.

1.5 Structure and Organization of Dissertation

This thesis is divided into eight chapters. In this Introduction I have provided a rationale for the study, and stated its aim and guiding research questions. I have also presented some historical background about extended schooling in England as well as outlining the key aims of the extended schools programme promoted by the UK government. In addition cross-country perspectives on the community school movement and the impacts of these schools were discussed.

In Chapter Two I review the relevant literature on collaboration and leadership. I start by examining ideas about social capital and offer a justification for using social capital as a conceptual framework for this study. Then I explore the theoretical approaches to collaboration, with the main focus being on a theory of collaborative advantage. Here I clarify the distinction between different forms of collaboration. Next I discuss some key theoretical perspectives on leadership with a detailed focus on collaborative leadership. Finally, I discuss ideas about the nature of trust building, networks and power relationships in organizations.

Chapter Three provides a description of the methodology I adopted, including the underlying philosophical paradigm that shaped the data collection and analysis. In chapter Four there is a presentation of how the study was carried out and the data analysed, including an explanation of how ethical issues were addressed. The chapter ends by outlining strategies for evaluating the current study and by indicating the limitations of the gathered data.

Chapters Five and Six present and analyse data from a case study of how the extended schools programme was implemented in a particular local authority. In Chapter Five the main focus is on the perceptions of participants about the extended schools programme including management structure, new roles and accountability issues. This chapter also

includes some examples of extended services activities observed during fieldwork. Chapter Six analyses leadership practices in an inter-agency collaborative context.

In Chapter Seven I bring together the data and the literature, discuss the perceptions of participants on the extended schools programme, and examine what leadership practice was seen as effective in the implementation of this programme.

Finally, Chapter Eight provides a synthesis of key themes that emerged from the study, summarises the final results and discusses the implications for policy and practice, research and theory, and suggests areas for further research.

Chapter 2. Review of Related Literature

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a review of the literature on the key themes that shaped the research questions and the design of the current study. It consists of four main sections. In the first section I examine the theory of social capital and justify its importance as a conceptual framework for this study. In the second section I explore a number of theoretical approaches to demonstrate how theory can help us to understand people's practice in collaborative contexts as well as examining some empirical evidence from the literature. Next I focus on understanding leadership in a collaborative context. Finally, I discuss ideas about the nature of trust, networks and power relationships in organizations. This chapter also includes an overview of the limitations of previous studies and points to gaps in knowledge on the subject.

2.2 Conceptual Framework: What is Social Capital?

In recent years, there has been an increasing amount of literature on social capital. Social capital, as a concept, features in theorising and policy development in areas including education, health and welfare, economics and politics. There is not a single unified or generally accepted theory of social capital. Fine (2001) suggests that: 'social capital provides a technological umbrella for grouping together an extraordinarily diverse range of casually constructed illustrations' (p.78).

Part of the attraction of social capital theory is the way it can help us to think about institutional and social outcomes, processes and problems in new or innovative ways. Fine (2001) claims that it operates at the intermediate level: it is a theory that attempts to

explain the space and processes between the micro level and macro level. Such potential positions social capital as the central idea around which this study has been built.

2.2.1 Types of Capital and Defining Social Capital

The social science literature presents a range of types of capital: 'physical', 'financial' 'human', 'cultural', 'social', 'economic', 'intellectual', 'political', 'ethnic' and 'symbolic' are often described. In a very simplistic way Portes (1998) explains that economic capital is 'in people's bank accounts', human capital is 'inside their heads' and social capital 'inheres in the structure of their relationships' (p.7).

The definition of capital accumulation is subject to controversy and ambiguities. In Karl Marx's economic theory, capital accumulation refers to the operation whereby profits are reinvested, increasing the total quantity of capital. Within the context of eighteenth and nineteenth-century economics, and elementary economics textbooks up to the present day, capital has been identified as one of three 'factors production', the others being land and labour (Hammersley, 2011). In diverting labour and resources into the production of capital goods, one is investing in those goods, in other words sacrificing an immediate payoff for an anticipated greater future return. This is the root economic model and relates to what has come to be called 'physical capital'.

Financial capital tends to be defined as a fund of money, or of goods that could be cashed as money, that is available for future use in a variety of forms of expenditure or for financial 'investment'; that is, not just in purchasing physical capital but also in loaning money to others in return for interest or dividends. Financial capital plays a very important role in relation to production in modern capitalist economies.

The use of the term 'human capital' dates back to Mincer (1958), Schultz (1961) and Becker (1964, 1993) writing within economics. The definition widely used in the literature

suggests that human capital refers to the stock of competences, knowledge and personality attributes embodied in the ability to perform labour so as to produce enhanced economic value.

It is misleading to think of labour power as undifferentiated, thereby neglecting the considerable variation in skills and knowledge possessed by workers (Hammersley, 2011). Furthermore, Hammersley writes that 'it is argued that by learning relevant knowledge and skills people are investing in themselves; in other words, they are foregoing immediate earning power and consumption in order to gain a higher level of earning and consumption in the future'. From this point of view, the education system can play a key economic role, especially when it dispenses credentials that are important determinants of levels of occupational recruitment (Ibid). Human capital is often seen as a predecessor of the notion of the 'knowledge economy'. Two further important points are suggested by Hammersley (2011). First, some human capital is simply given rather than being the product of specific investment decisions designed to achieve future rewards. Second, human capital is often portrayed as general or multi-functional, by analogy with financial capital, and by contrast with physical capital, which is always functionally specific (Hammersley, 2011).

There are many definitions of the concept of social capital, which leads to justifiable confusion about its meaning. This has been exacerbated by the use of different words to refer to the same concept. For example, Harper (2001) shows that these include social energy, community spirit, social bonds, civic virtue, community networks, social ozone, extended friendships, community life, social resources, informal and formal networks, good neighbourliness and social glue.

Three writers in particular have influenced the development of the term: Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1988, 1990) and Putnam (1993, 1995, 1996, 2000). Their writings provide useful summaries of some of the key conceptual contours of social capital (see Table 1

below). These are compared as regards how they define social capital, the purpose for which they employ the concept, and the social scale at which they apply it.

Table 1 Definition, purpose and analysis of social capital

	Definition	Purpose	Analysis	Key concepts	Level
Bourdieu	Social connections that provide access to goods	To secure economic capital	Individuals in class competition (class fraction)	Habitus Fields	Macro
Coleman	Aspects of social structure that provide people with resources to pursue their interests	To secure human capital	Individuals in family and community settings (individual)	Closure Appropriable social organizations Multiplexity	Micro Meso
Putnam	Trust, norms and networks that facilitate cooperation for mutual benefit	To secure effective democracy and economy	Regional in national settings (national, societies)	Trust Trustworthiness Civic engagement	Macro

Source: Modified from Winter, 2000, p.5. (Australian Institute of Family Studies)

What we can see from the table is that there are some elements where definitions overlap. For Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam relational context is the common defining feature: social capital can only exist within a pattern of relationships. The next common feature shared by the three authors is that through investment in certain forms of behaviour and their products, social capital can be sustained and nourished. And finally, they also share the symbolism of capital as economic metaphor. Social capital can be ‘effectively mobilised’ (Bourdieu, 1986:248), it can ‘facilitate certain actions of actors’ (Coleman, 1988:98), or it can be used to ‘pursue shared objectives’ (Putnam, 1996:56).

Despite these common features, Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam were each pursuing different lines of research, working at different scales or levels of analysis, and engaging in different kinds of theory building. They also offer different perspectives for looking at social capital: both Bourdieu (1986) and Coleman (1988) employ this concept in a sociological context. Bourdieu used it to look at how the dominant class in contemporary society reproduces its position across generations. Coleman uses the concept in explaining why some of those in lower positions in society are able to achieve upward

social mobility while others cannot. By contrast, Putnam's concerns stem from political science, being focused on how communal relations are engendered and sustained.

There are three levels of analysis for social capital: micro, meso and macro (see Table 1 above). At the micro-level, social capital consists of close ties to family and friends. Meso-level social capital refers to the characteristics of communities and associational organizations. Macro-level social capital consists of state and national-level connections such as the sharing of a common language. According to Halpern (2005), there is 'some functional equivalence between the different levels' (p19) and declining social capital at one level can sometimes be compensated for increases at another level.

Bourdieu, following Marx, defined capital as the 'product of accumulated labor in the objectified state which is held by a given agent' (Bourdieu 1986: 245). However, in Bourdieu's analysis, labour is not embodied only in financial and physical capital, and is not exercised exclusively in the workplace. Labour, or labour-time, is expended in the creation of networks and institutions that make up social capital and in the transformation of social capital into other manifestations of capital, which he equates with power or authority. The closest equivalent to human capital in Bourdieu's analysis is embodied cultural capital, which he defines as the *habitus*² of cultural practice: knowledge, and demeanours learned through exposure to role models in the family and other environments (Bourdieu, 1977).

This analysis of the literature clearly highlights two competing views of social capital. One, is produced by Bourdieu (1986), that social capital is: 'the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of that word'. Another view was developed by Putnam (2000), who is the best

² *Habitus* includes existing cultural and social knowledge and practice of individuals

known advocate of a neo-liberal definition of social capital. He declares that: 'by social capital I mean features of social life – networks, norms, and trust – that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives' (Putnam, 2000). Putnam's group level definition of social capital is more 'reciprocal'. One can have social capital on one's own in Bourdieu's terms, but not from Putnam's perspective.

Coleman (1988) proposed three different aspects of social capital. First, he examined the measure of trustworthiness of the social environment. This leads to the development of individuals' obligations to this social environment. Secondly, he looked at the information flow networks – that is, the capacity of useful information to flow between different members of the community. Finally, he studied the presence of norms accompanied by effective sanctions – how well community rules and laws are defined and reinforced.

While in Coleman's (1988) analysis social structures and networks that represent social capital are rarely created purposefully, for Bourdieu social ties are '... the product of investment strategies, individual or collective, consciously or unconsciously aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly usable in the short or long term' (Bourdieu, 1986:249). Putnam (2004) argues that social networks can be a powerful asset, both for individuals and for communities. He states that it is important to distinguish among different types of social capital, notably the difference between 'bonding' (exclusive) and 'bridging' (inclusive) social capital. Bonding social capital provides links amongst relatively homogeneous groups such as family members and close friends, people who are similar in ethnicity, age, social class, or whatever. Bridging social capital refers to relations with distant friends, associates and colleagues. Another type of social capital which has been labelled recently is 'linking' social capital (Woolcock, 1998). This concerns relationships among people with different power and allows access to resources, ideas, information and knowledge within a community or groups. Linking social capital can be found in school contexts in which children are involved in significant decision-making roles.

While Bourdieu implicated social capital in class conflict and social reproduction, Putnam and Coleman view social capital as a component of social cohesion. For example, Putnam (2004) states: 'social capital is a narrower, more tightly defined concept that calls attention to one crucial ingredient in social cohesion, in the sense of a just, equitable, tolerant, and well-integrated society' (p.3). He claims that other factors besides social capital are also relevant to social cohesion, such as an effective welfare state and anti-discrimination policies (Putnam, 2004:3).

Coleman focused on the individual and small group (e.g. the household) as the unit of observation, while focusing on the 'unifying norms' that generate social capital. He saw these norms as facilitating the development of human capital, and as explaining variation in this across different community contexts. Putnam has been most influential in his use of regional, national and international social data to focus on evidence for collective action, and particularly the networks and norms that facilitate such action (see Table 1 above). In doing so, he adopted a macro perspective. By contrast with other two writers, he has popularised a notion of social capital which ties it to the production of collective goods such as 'civic engagement' or a spirit of cooperation available to the community or nation at large. Bourdieu's approach is similar to Putnam's in that it locates social reality at a macro level, but he adopted a conflict perspective to observe social capital at the level of class fractions. Bourdieu (1986) suggested that, within limits, one form of capital can be turned into another. Social relationships generally, though not always, are strengthened through interaction but die out if not maintained. Unlike many other forms of capital, social capital increases rather than decreases with use. Interaction, thus, is a precondition for the development and maintenance of dense social capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

2.2.2 The Role of Social Capital in Education

An overarching theme of the research literature is that different kinds of social capital appear to be associated with different educational effects.

Bourdieu (1986) exhibits no faith in the educational system as a mechanism for status attainment, and views both familial support (social capital) and educational attainment (cultural or human capital) as results of pre-existing economic and social endowments. What Bourdieu means by 'cultural capital' corresponds broadly to human capital, but his term highlights the fact that there is social-cultural variation in what serves as human capital (Hammersley, 2011). For Bourdieu, educational attainment is a proxy for socioeconomic status, and education is itself a mechanism for social reproduction. He argued that the educational system as well as the arts, the media and other institutions develop in ways that while having their own distinctive character and relative autonomy, nevertheless are homologous to the economic field, and as a result facilitate reproduction of the position of the dominant class. For example, those who gain knowledge through informal learning (autodidacts) cannot convert this work into social or cultural capital unless they have the class position to legitimise their knowledge (Bourdieu, 1986).

Coleman (1988) argued that the educational expectations, norms, and obligations that exist within a family or a community are important social capital that can influence the level of parental involvement and investment of effort in the education of children, which in turn affects academic success. Under the heading of 'social capital', Coleman includes various aspects of families and social relationships within the local community that can facilitate educational achievement directly via the building of human capital (Hammersley, 2011). For example, by living in the same area for the duration of their children's schooling, which Coleman refers as 'intergenerational closure', they facilitate enduring and stable relationships with friends, neighbors and teachers. More specifically,

intergenerational closure concerns the extent to which whole sets of people have grown up together, creating social networks that are then 'inherited' by their children, in the sense that their children are involved in networks involving the children of their parents' friends. Coleman argued that the existence of intergenerational closure provides a quantity of social capital available to each parent in raising their children – not only in matters related to school but in other matters as well (Coleman, 1988:S107). Closure means that the existence of sufficient ties between a certain number of people guarantees the observance of norms. Thereby, closure creates trustworthiness in a social structure (Coleman, 1988:S108). Hammersley (2011) argues that it is not clear that intergenerational closure is produced by anyone, but that it is simply a feature of some communities, or if it was a product of acts of 'community development' this need not have been aimed at improving educational achievement. Coleman (1990) acknowledges this point by providing the concept of 'appropriable social organization'. This describes how organizations brought into being for one set of purposes can be appropriated for another purpose, thus constituting social capital available for use. Furthermore, closure and appropriable social organizations provide social capital as they allow the resources of one relationship to be appropriated for use in others (Coleman, 1990:S109).

Putnam (2000) argues that whereas physical capital refers to physical objects and human capital refers to the properties of individuals, social capital refers to connections among individuals (p.19). He claims that the empirical correlation between human capital and social capital is very close, not definitionally or tautologically, but empirically. Individuals and communities with high levels of human capital (education and training) are typically also characterised by high levels of social capital and its various forms (Putnam, 2004:3). Correlation does not always indicate causation, but there is reasonably good evidence in this case that causation flows in both directions, that is, that social capital fosters the acquisition of human capital and that in turn education fosters the accumulation of social capital (Putnam, 2004:3).

Putnam (2004) argues that students from impoverished backgrounds are disadvantaged educationally precisely because they lack access to productive social capital, both inside and outside the school. Therefore, educational policy-makers in many countries have identified active school-parent-community collaboration as a key strategy for assisting under-performing schools. For example, the extended schools programme implemented by the UK government in the first decade of the twenty-first century was aimed at fostering closer school-parent-community collaboration especially in deprived neighborhoods. Furthermore, Putnam (2004) argues that smaller towns, schools and so on generally display higher levels of trust and encouragement. On the other hand, bigger is often better for technical efficiency and sometimes better for diversity. Putnam (2004) suggests that educators have for some time recognised this dilemma of size as regards learning *per se*, but it is especially sharp in the domain of social capital. One strategy for resolving this dilemma might be what he called the *cellular* approach – to nest smaller groups within a larger, more encompassing organization. This argument supports those versions of the extended schools programme and inter-agency collaboration that see an individual school as the ‘hub’ of services for children, their parents and the wider community.

The literature discussed above shows that social capital offers a way of examining the links between micro-, meso- and macro-levels of analysis in the interrelationship between the individual, small group and the large organization in education. This is important for this study as this approach helps to provide insights into the relationships between schools, the local authority, communities and partner agencies. Warren et al. (2001; see also Woolcock, 1998) argue that we can think of social capital as a set of links across institutions, like schools and community-development organizations. We can ask to what extent institutions in a community collaborate with each other and work together for the development of families and children. Institutions serve as sites for building social capital as they bring networks of people and resources to bear on achieving collective ends (Warren, 2005:137). Collective ends have to be formed and maintained, and they will exclude as well as include.

Use of the concept of social capital in the current study draws on the conceptual debate and the relevant literature studying in a variety of ways. Like Coleman, who used social capital as a *post hoc* explanation of his findings of educational outcomes in the US high schools (Schuller, et al., 2004:6), I found retrospectively that social capital is the concept that provides a framework for understanding my empirical findings given that my focus is on the relationships between people working within an inter-agency collaborative context.

2.3 Understanding Collaboration

2.3.1 Theories and Approaches to the Study of Collaboration

As its Latin roots *com* and *laborare* suggest, collaboration reduced to its simplest definition means 'to work together'. The literature highlights a range of definitions of 'collaboration'. Collaboration is often described as a mutual beneficial relationship between two or more parties who work toward common goals (e.g. Graham & Barter, 1999; Chrislip & Larson, 1994). However, the word 'collaboration' can also have negative connotations: when two criminal gangs join forces or the word used for cooperating with the authorities in occupied countries. In this thesis I use the term 'collaboration' to refer to any situation in which practitioners in schools, the local authority, and partner agencies are working together toward effective implementation of the extended schools programme.

Huxham and Vangen (2005) suggest that 'collaborative relationships manifest themselves in a multitude of ways, with a multitude of descriptive terminology and a multitude of purposes' (p.4). Furthermore, in generic terms, the broad purposes of collaboration may be concerned, at one extreme, at the strategic level with advancement of a shared vision, or, at the other extreme, with the delivery of a short-term project. They may require, at one

extreme, considerable joint investment in action or, at the other, merely the development of a relationship and some exchange of information' (Huxham & Vangen, 2005:5).

Theoretical perspectives on collaboration are located in a variety of disciplines and in general do not seek to provide a comprehensive explanation of the collaborative process, but they offer insights into particular aspects of collaboration. The analysis of the literature on collaboration has highlighted a number of theories that have particular value in relation to the research questions identified in Chapter One. These theories include: exchange theory; resource dependency theory; evolutionary theory; community empowerment theory; social network theory; and the theory of collaborative advantage. There is some overlap between them in terms of the focus on the role of power, networks and trust within the collaborative process. I will discuss key characteristics of these theories next.

The main argument of exchange theory, developed by Levine and White (1962), is that scarcity of resources motivates a pattern of voluntary exchange relations between the individual agencies in their inter-organizational network. However, due to inequalities in funding streams and in other resources available, some organizations obviously will be able to have more control than others and may use this power to challenge others' territory to gain more benefits and security for their own position.

Resource dependency theory (e.g. Pfeffer, 1992; Emerson, 1962) defines power as the control over resources, including money, supplies, time, equipment, critical services, human capital, or all of these. Emerson (1962) argues that social relationships commonly entail 'ties of mutual dependence' (p.32), with A being dependent on the resources controlled by B to achieve desired goals. This starting point is similar to that for exchange theory. But where exchange theory would see the next step as mutually beneficial collaboration, resource-dependency theory adopts the premise that each party attempts to control or influence the others' activities. Power, therefore, 'resides implicitly in others' dependency' (Emerson, 1962).

Alter and Hage (1993) in their 'evolutionary theory' of organizational collaboration argue that the extent to which organizations will succeed in their collaborative endeavour will be dependent upon other contextual factors, such as the existence of trust between stakeholders and the complexity of the task. The evolutionary theory of collaboration does not assume that collaboration will occur automatically. Instead it highlights the importance of learning as a part of the collaborative process and cites this as something that can be beneficial both to the individual organizations involved and to the wider society.

Himmelman (1996) maintains the value of collaboration as resting with its capacity to 'transform' power relationships in society so as to achieve social justice for communities that have been disadvantaged and discriminated against in the prevailing political environment. He views power as 'the capacity to produce intended results' (p.22). He identifies two ways in which this power may be shared – through collaborative betterment or collaborative empowerment. Collaborative betterment occurs when agencies outside the community design and control a process into which the community is invited. Collaborative empowerment is 'the capacity to set priorities and control resources that are essential for increasing community self-determination' (Himmelman, 1996:29). From this point of view the community, or rather some representatives of it, set priorities and control resources but he argues that it is not easy to distinguish between these two processes.

In recent years, there has been an increasing amount of literature that seeks to explain collaborative processes through social network analysis (SNA). Wellman and Berkowitz (1988) suggest that 'network analysis is neither a method nor a metaphor, but a fundamental intellectual tool for the study of social structures' (p.4). In general, network analysis focuses on the relationships between people, instead of on characteristics of people. It explores concepts of network structure and the location of a node in a network: centrality, degree and path distances (e.g. measures of individuals who are at the centre of things); weak and strong ties (weak or strong relationships); size of personal network

(the number of people an individual is connected to); whom links are made with; and duration and diversity of links. Burt (1992, 2000) contributed an influential extension to SNA by synthesising ideas from this approach with ideas about social capital. He argues that 'social structure is a kind of capital that can create for certain individuals or groups a competitive advantage in pursuing their ends. Better connected people enjoy higher returns' (2000:238). Burt also insists on the central importance of 'brokerage' in networks, and identifies social capital 'as a function of brokerage across structural holes... resources accumulate in brokers, people with exclusive exchange relations to otherwise unconnected partners' (Burt, 2000:357). It is argued that SNA helps to uncover the emergent and informal communication patterns presented in an organization which can then be compared to formal communication structures, and thus helps to explain significant organizational phenomena.

Another important theoretical conceptualisation of collaboration is suggested by Huxham and Vangen (2005). Two counter-posed concepts that relate to the benefits of, and difficulties with, collaborative working are key to their theory. *Collaborative advantage* relates to the desired synergistic outcome of collaborative activity suggesting that advantage is gained through collaboration when something is achieved that could not have been achieved by any organization acting alone (Vangen & Huxham, 2003:S62). Based on rich data about collaboration collected systematically over a number of years, Huxham and Vangen (2005) suggest a number of common bases for collaborative advantage, such as: access to resources; shared risk; efficiency; co-ordination and seamlessness; learning; and the moral imperative. Their view on 'seamlessness' is similar to a 'one-stop shop' philosophy. For example, service for families with needs related to special education might be holistically serviced through provision of health and education services 'co-located' together in a special school building. Huxham and Vangen (2005) argue that the most important reason for being concerned with collaboration is a moral one. This rests on the belief that the important issues facing society – poverty, crime, drug abuse, conflict, health promotion, economic development and so on – cannot be tackled by organizations

acting alone. These issues have ramifications for so many aspects of society that they are inherently multi-organizational. Collaboration is thus essential if there is to be any hope of alleviating them (Huxham & Vangen, 2005:7).

Huxham and Vangen (2005) suggest that *collaborative inertia* relates to the often-pertaining actual outcome, in which the collaboration makes only hard fought or negligible progress. In seeking to understand the reasons for collaborative inertia, the theory aims to provide insight into the complexities that have to be managed by those aiming for collaborative advantage in practice. It includes theoretical perspectives on issues such as collaborative aims, trust and power relationships, collaborative structures, leadership, autonomy and accountabilities, together with the sheer time required to manage the logistic of communication (Vangen & Huxham, 2003; Eden & Huxham, 2001; Huxham & Vangen, 2000a). It is also important to take the idea of collaborative inertia into account since it reminds us that collaborative schemes may continue to operate after they have ceased to have any usefulness.

The theories discussed above propose theoretical perspectives on how to explain collaborative behavior. Key characteristics such as resource dependency, trust, networking, brokering, power relationship and the importance of learning as a part of the collaborative process are central to conceptualizing collaboration. Huxham and Vangen's (2005) theory of collaborative advantage in particular captures elements of many theories (i.e. power, trust, resource dependency), and also provides a view on leadership, which will be further explored in a later section in this chapter. Furthermore, the theory was built on rich data coming from study of public sector organizations, and is therefore directly relevant to understanding the extended schools programme. Thus, the theory of collaborative advantage seems to be particularly helpful in exploring leadership practices in collaborative contexts and it has been applied to this study.

2.3.2 Forms of Collaboration

One criticism of much literature on collaboration is a lack of clarity and consistency in the use of different terms to describe collaborative practice. Many writers (e.g. Duggan & Corrigan, 2009; Cheminais, 2009; Ainscow & West, 2006b; Warmington, 2004) have presented a plethora of terminology such as ‘association’, ‘cooperation’, ‘collaboration’, ‘collegiality’, ‘co-ordination’, ‘partnership’, ‘coexistence’, ‘co-ownership’, ‘inter-agency’, ‘multi-agency’, ‘inter-professional’ to portray collaborative activities. The key problem with this terminological variety is that it may lead to confusion among practitioners about what exactly it is they are trying to achieve and what processes, tools and strategies may be most effective. On the other hand, as Duggan and Corrigan (2009) suggest in regard to inter-agency forms of collaboration, the lack of rigorous conceptualization and rigidity in definition may reflect a number of issues including a desire to be flexible and accommodating of different perspectives and working arrangements.

Several authors have attempted to categorise the different types of school and community connections (e.g. Warren, 2005; Sanders, 2001; Keyes & Gregg. 2001; Cahill, 1996; Dryfoos, 1994). Table 2 below presents the summary of three views on school-community partnership suggested by Dryfoos (1994), Cahill (1996) and Warren (2005).

Table 2 Comparison of views on school-community connections

Dryfoos, 1994	Cahill, 1996	Warren, 2005
Service Integration ('One-stop shopping')	Service provision to meet youth needs	The service model – represented by community (full-service) schools
Joint use	School-community educational partnerships	The development model – represented by community sponsorship of new schools (e.g. charter schools)
Coordinated	School-community partnerships in youth development	
Integrated model		The organizational model – represented by school-community organizing
Extended services model	School-community economic development collaborations	
	Community redefined schools	

The forms of partnership presented in the table are built around the difference between structures, participants and the focusing of activities for children, their families and community members. Clearly there is an overlap between some forms, like for example, the 'extended services model' and the 'service model'. It seems that Cahill (1996) describes an 'idealised' type of partnership in her view of 'community redefined schools' which are 'away from professionalized, bureaucratic, centralized models, to communities of learning governed at the level closest to students, families, teachers and community members' (p.9). In the complex contexts characterised by the presence of many, often related, initiatives in which schools operate and, typically with a short time-span of education evaluation, this sort of 'community redefined school' partnership would be difficult to develop.

The literature on school-community collaboration highlights some models that focus solely on parental involvement or on the integration of family and community connections with schools. The field has benefited from a theory of overlapping spheres of influence developed by Epstein (1987). This integrates educational, sociological, and psychological perspectives on social organizations, as well as research on the effects of family, school, and community environment on educational outcomes. The relationships between the three parties (i.e. school, family, and community) are determined by the attitudes and practices of individuals within each context. A central principle of the theory is that certain goals, such as student academic success, are of mutual interest to people in each of these domains, and are best achieved through their cooperative action and support (Epstein, 1987). The six types of school-family-community involvement are:

- the basic obligation of parents;
- communication between home and school;
- parents involvement at school – volunteering;
- parents involvement in learning activities at home;
- decision-making;
- collaborating with the community.

Epstein acknowledges that the theory has some limitations. The main challenge for schools is to assist all families in identifying community programmes and services that address their needs.

Although Epstein stresses that the six types of involvement may be initiated by anyone – including schools, family members, or community organizations – some scholars have criticised her categorization as limited by its ‘school-centred’ focus. For example, Kohl et al.,(2000) argue that Epstein’s categories ‘measure teacher- and school-initiated behaviours rather than parent-initiated involvement’ (p.505). They have characterised family involvement in terms of who initiates the activity, and/or power relationships.

While Epstein targets parent involvement activities as her primary focus for interaction between schools and their external environments, Sanders (2001) provides further categorisation of activities established between individuals in the schools and members of their communities. She argues that school-community partnership activities can have multiple foci: student centred, family centred; school centred, or community centred. The survey data collected from over 400 schools across the US found that most activities were student-centred. She claims that ‘schools may not have fully explored collaborative activities to benefit the total school programme or to assist in providing adults in students’ families with primary services, skills training, or other parental supports’ (Sanders, 2001:26). She concludes that school- and family-centred partnership activities might be especially important for high-need resource-poor schools in at-risk communities.

In short, the review of the literature presented above highlighted a range of views on collaboration, and generally the lack of rigorous conceptualisation and definition of forms of collaborative working has resulted in a relatively complex picture which creates difficulties both for practitioners and for researchers.

For the purpose of this study I use the following definitions of inter-agency working and school-community partnership presented in the Table 3 below.

Table 3 Definitions of forms of collaboration

Form of collaboration	Definition	Source
<i>Inter-agency working</i>	More than one agency working together in a planned and formal way, rather than simply through informal networking (although the latter may support and develop the former). This can be at strategic or operational levels.	Duggan & Corrigan, 2009 Warrington et al., 2004
<i>School-community partnership</i>	Connections between schools and community individuals, organizations, and businesses that are forged to promote students' social, emotional, physical, and intellectual development	Sanders, 2001:20

2.3.3 Evidence of Collaborative Practice

Factors promoting effective partnerships

Within the still new but rapidly growing body of literature on school-community partnership and inter-agency working, there are some examples of successful collaborative practices which I discuss next.

Sanders (2001) argues that, although some variations exist, educational organizations generally agree on several key steps for building successful collaborations. These steps include:

- identifying issues or goals to address;
- defining the focus and scope of the partnerships;
- identifying community assets (potential partners);
- selecting partners;
- monitoring progress;
- evaluating activities; and
- sharing success stories (Sanders, 2001:21).

When selecting partners and monitoring progress, an organization takes the initiative and implicitly controls other activities. However, Sanders (2001) offers no explanation of the

indicators she used for evaluating activities. In her survey, schools' satisfaction with their community partnership activities was measured with a single item to which respondents answered 'yes' or 'no', concerning whether schools were satisfied with the quality of their activities (Sanders, 2001).

Several studies have revealed that additional training and resources are needed to engage with parents and community members (e.g. Sanders, 2008; Warren, 2005, Hands, 2005; Henderson & Mapp, 2002). Warren (2005) draws our attention to 'reaching out to parents, engaging parents in authentic conversation, educating parents, and providing parents with avenue to develop as leaders'. He argues that full-time staff are needed to engage parents in schools. Educators can no longer send home leaflets and then complain that parents do not care when few of them show up for events (Warren, 2005:160). Sanders and Harvey (2002) found dialogue (without dictating the terms of the relationship) was important to partnership development for both the school personnel and community members in their study. In general, schools that work well with families show improved morale, produce higher ratings of teachers by parents and have better reputations within the community.

Hands (2005) in her study of the process of creating partnership between schools and communities in Ontario, showed that partnerships not only provided students with academic resources and learning opportunities, but they expanded the students' networks and increased their social capital. By meeting and interacting with citizens in their community, the students developed relationships with others in the environment and subsequently had access to information, learning, occupational experiences, and opportunities to establish trustworthiness. Keyes and Gregg (2001) in their literature review of school-community connections argue that collaboration between schools and communities is both process oriented – building social capital – and task oriented – using social capital to achieve outcomes that benefit people (p.12). The assumption is that schools will help people in the community develop social capital and form connections to

the school, so an equal task in collaboration is to develop social capital within the school, by increasing its connections with and trust in the community.

A number of studies have found that the achievement of mutuality in collaborative endeavours requires the sharing of power among diverse stakeholders (e.g. Warren, 2005; Sanders, 2003; Henderson & Mapp, 2002; Gray, 2000). For example, Gray (2000) observes that 'the power dynamics associated with collaboration generally involve a shift from the kind of unequal distribution of power associated with elitist decision making to more participative, equally shared access to the decision-making arena' (Gray, 2000:243). Similarly, Bryk and Schneider (2002) suggest that power in schools, as in most institutions, is not distributed evenly: all parties are ultimately dependent on each other to succeed. They contend that 'the fulfilment of obligations entails not only doing the right thing, but also doing it in a respectful way, and for what are perceived to be the right reasons' (Bryk & Schneider, 2002).

Trust has been identified as a major contributing factor for successful collaboration. Trust is the 'connective tissue' that holds improving schools together, claim Bryk and Schneider (2002), based on results from their study of the impact of trust on student achievement in the Chicago Public Schools from 1991-1997. They indicate that '...trust fosters a set of organizational conditions, some structural and others social-psychological, that make it more conducive for individuals to initiate and sustain the kinds of activities necessary to effect productivity improvements' (p.116). Bryk and Schneider (2002) also found that 'schools reporting strong positive trust had 1 in 2 chances of being placed in group of schools designated as improving while schools with weak trust had only a 1 in 7 chances' (p.111). This empirical evidence makes a compelling case for the need for teachers and leaders to be trusting and prove themselves worthy of being trusted. Bryk and Schneider (2002) summarised their findings by concluding that strong trust leads to collective decision making, and deep engagement across the school. Similarly, Tschannen-Moran (2004) concluded from her study in the US that 'principals who wish to receive trust would

do well to extend trust by being open with information, by including teachers in decisions that affect them, and by sharing power via delegation without micromanagement' and this view has similarities to the idea of distributed leadership which will be covered later in this chapter.

The importance of trusting relations was highlighted by Atkinson et al. (2007) in their review of the literature on multi-agency working. A number of studies established the importance of clear and meaningful definition of roles for all participants in collaboration to ensure that everyone knows what is expected of them and can be held accountable to these expectations (e.g. Atkinson et. al., 2008, 2007; Ainscow & West, 2006; Huxham & Vangen, 2005; Warren, 2005; Sullivan & Skelcher, 2002).

A common enabling factor in many studies is effective leadership. Ainscow and West (2006) emphasise that while it is true that, by and large, schools do not improve without effective leadership from the inside, it is also the case that the wider context influences the progress of such improvement efforts, for good or ill. In her study, Sanders (2001) found that the most frequently reported strategy to address insufficient leadership was to involve other school groups, like the school leadership council or Parent-Teacher Association (PTA), in the planning and implementation of partnerships. Similarly, Cummings et al. (2006) have shown that schools described the advantages of involving students in extended schools planning and management in terms of ensuring students had voice and input in driving forward their school, and ensuring the development of new provision reflected need (p.38).

McMahon et al. (2000) discuss a number of leadership strategies developed in the US in building full-service schools. They emphasize the importance of a local coordinator who functions as a facilitator during the planning and implementation phases and then continues as the project director once the programme is operational. Furthermore, McMahon et al., (2000) argue that the concept of an organizational facilitator who can

serve as an independent consultant and help marry knowledge of local needs provided by work groups with knowledge of systems reform may have appeal in other settings (p.74).

Finally, several studies revealed that having transparent structures for communication, maintaining constant communication throughout the life of the inter-agency group and good communication between partners all contribute to the success of inter-agency working (e.g. Frost & Lloyd, 2006). Similarly Huxham and Vangen (2005) commented that the plea for good communication is very common among those who have experienced collaboration.

Summing up, the evidence from the literature discussed above suggests that central to effective collaborative practice such elements as:

- parental and community engagement;
- clarity about roles;
- trust building;
- sharing power and leadership;
- effective leadership;
- good communication.

Factors inhibiting effective partnerships

Despite the high ideals of partnerships and recognition of the need to tackle important social, economic and environmental issues collaboratively, many authors point to the difficulty of collaboration in practice (e.g. Ball, 2008; Armistead et al., 2007; Huxham & Vangen, 2005). Hudson et al. (1999) argue that policy rhetoric often underestimates the difficulties involved in successful collaboration and overestimates its potential and actual outcomes.

The literature (e.g. Atkinson et al., 2007, Huxham & Vangen, 2005; Warmington et al., 2004; Sullivan & Skelcher, 2002) suggests that differences in professional and agency cultures, organizational interests, professional agendas and ways of working, and wider political agendas, all contribute to the erection of substantial barriers to collaboration. Huxham and Vangen (2005) argue that there is a lot of evidence that many collaborations make slow progress and that others die without achieving anything – or reach collaborative inertia. Warmington et al. (2004) highlight the need for professional learning to take place before inter-agency work can be achieved.

The other often mentioned obstacles include competing and hidden agendas (Eden & Huxham, 2001), lack of trust (Coleman, 2006; Vangen & Huxham, 2003), and vulnerability to political manoeuvring as well as political interference (Huxham & Vangen, 2005). Trusting relationship between group members in collaboration can take a great deal of time to develop (Huxham & Vangen, 2005). If a group is subject to changing membership this becomes even more problematic (Huxham & Vangen, 2000a).

Hands (2005) found that practical issues such as time, money, and transportation were important considerations and potential hindrances for community schools. Similarly, a recent report on extended schools (DFE, 2010) has shown that the most common barriers to developing extended services were: inadequate funding, lack of available facilities, lack of specialist staff, lack of interest from parents, time constraints, and lack of communication. A number of studies have found that issues about funding have generated conflicts within or between agencies and concern about sustainability (e.g. Wilkin et al., 2008; Kendal et al., 2007; Atkinson et al., 2007; Coleman, 2006).

Other factors that have surfaced as obstacles to collaboration are that there was often an uneven balance of power in relationships between participants (e.g. Huxham & Vangen, 2005; Gray, 2000; Himmelman, 1992) and that communication among agency staff was seen as a key challenge (e.g. Atkinson et al., 2008, 2007, 2003).

The literature shows that in reality inter-agency collaborative partnership, as well as school-community partnership working, is a complex process which is influenced by fiscal issues and multiple layers of professional cultures and the power differentials amongst participants.

The literature reviewed above showed the importance of effective leadership within collaborative partnerships that will be discussed next.

2.4 Understanding Leadership

The general literature on leadership is extensive and controversial, and includes a large number of different theoretical perspectives and models which draw on a variety of social and psychological disciplines. Much of it is focused on individuals as leaders, and on leadership practice within the organization. I am going to limit this discussion to the literature that is of particular relevance in studying collaborative relationships. In this section, firstly, I will distinguish between leadership and management concepts, then will examine some key theoretical perspectives on leadership with the main focus on collaborative leadership.

2.4.1 Distinguishing Between Leadership and Management

While the leadership literature gains increasing popularity and momentum, it is also problematic in many areas. The main problem is it contains literally hundreds of slightly different interpretations of the concept (Leithwood & Levin, 2005). Much of what is regarded as new leadership literature simply recycles previous management/leadership theories. Western (2008) argues that a great deal of leadership theory can be critiqued as over-simplistic, reductionist and offering unrealistic solutions to complex problems.

One method often used to clarify the meaning of leadership is to compare it to the concept of management. For example, Kotter (1988) suggests that management is about planning, organising and controlling, whereas leadership is viewed as a change-oriented process of visioning, networking, and building relationships. Cuban (1988) draws the clearest distinction between management and leadership - 'maintaining what is rather than moving to what can be' (p. xxi). Management refers to efforts to maintain current arrangements whereas leadership refers to moving to new arrangements, where leaders 'initiate change to reach existing and new goals' (Cuban, 1988:xx). Thus, Cuban (1988) links leadership with change while management is seen as a maintenance activity.

Bush (2007) argues that leadership and management need to be given equal prominence if schools are to operate effectively and achieve their objectives (p.392). Similarly, Bolman and Deal (2003) focus on both management and leadership. They argue that organizations face several dangers. If, for example, an organization is overmanaged but underled, it will eventually lose any kind of sense of purpose and spirit (Bolman & Deal, 2003). On the other hand, a poorly managed organization with a strong and charismatic leader may soar briefly only to experience a significant downfall shortly thereafter. Bolman and Deal (2003) suggest that we need today more people in managerial roles who can deal with organizational confusion and chaos by establishing order and finding simplicity; we need managers who love their work and organizations, and respect people whose lives they affect. Leaders should be both artists and analysts, who are flexible and versatile enough to reframe their experience, as well as constantly seeking new issues and discovering possibilities. Bolman and Deal (2003) maintain that leaders and managers should view management more as a moral and ethical undertaking and should attempt to combine business realism with a passionate commitment to larger values and purposes.

Although many scholars adopt a distinction between 'leading' and 'managing', there is also agreement that 'it is difficult to lead without managing' (Spillane et al., 2009). In practice, leading and managing happen in tandem and are often intertwined; pulling them

apart is difficult. However, Coleman (2005) argues that one can be a leader without being a manager and the other way around. For example, one can monitor and control organizational activities, make decisions, and allocate resources without fulfilling the symbolic, normative, inspirational, or educational functions of leadership (Bottery, 2004).

Reviewing the literature, it seems that by the 1990s the discourse of leadership had superseded that of management and was constructed as the means by which organizational culture could be transformed (Gunter, 2004). Leadership can be regarded as the label for professional practice in order to secure change in education, and this discourse around the leadership of schools was embraced by New Labour (Gunter & Forrester, 2008). Finally, contemporary definitions of leadership are shifting from a focus on the individual 'leader' towards collective acts of 'leadership'.

In the present study, I use the term 'leadership' in a broad sense that includes the management function of leaders in schools, the local authority and partner agencies.

2.4.2 Leadership: Related Theory and Research

The individualistic views of leadership

One of the most common ways to define leadership is through observing individual leaders and analysing their internal personality traits which make them successful leaders (Western, 2008). The trait approach to leadership is based on the assumption that leaders are born rather than made. Grint (1999) comments that as long as they have the appropriate personality traits they will be leaders under any circumstances. The results of the trait studies were inconclusive as traits were hard to measure. The most common criticism of the trait approach is that it is an undifferentiated approach. Defining leadership by a set of given competencies or traits suggests a preferred leadership style which all individuals must have if they are to be successful leaders (Western, 2008). The second major concern is that this approach does not embrace personal differences among

leaders and other aspects of cultural diversity, and ignores the context of a situation and the complexity of running very challenging and diverse workplaces (Western, 2008:33).

In response to criticism of the trait approach, some theorists (e.g. Blake & Mouton, 1964) began to research leadership as a set of behaviours, and suggested conflicting leadership styles, based on leaders' concern for people and their concern for goal achievement. The distinction between trait and style models was that the former sought to identify the traits of 'successful leaders' whereas the style model recognizes that there are different styles of leadership can be adopted by different people or by the same person on different occasions.

Fiedler's (1967, 1974) contingency approach suggests that there is no single best way for managers to lead. Situations will create the need for different leadership styles and as Bush (2008) claims 'given the turbulent environment, leaders need to be able to read the situation and adopt the most appropriate response' (p.188). Similarly, Fullan (2004) argues that leaders need to employ different styles and approaches at different times, particularly when change or innovations are being introduced or in crisis situations.

The literature shows that leadership can be viewed from multiple perspectives. For example, Bolman and Deal (2003) use a four-frame model (structural, human resource, political and symbolic), indicating that the same situation can be viewed in at least four different ways. Each of these frames is distinctive, coherent, and powerful, and when taken together they help capture a comprehensive picture of an organization's situation. According to Bolman and Deal (2003) leaders may use any framework and may even use a combination at the same time in their daily life. Each frame has its own image of reality. The structural frame (metaphors: factory or machine), from sociological and management science, emphasises goals, specialised roles, and formal relationships; this frame can be used to organise and structure groups and teams to get results and fit an organization's environment and technology. The 'structural' manager tries to design and implement a process or structure that will be appropriate to the problem and circumstances. The

human resource frame (metaphor: family), which derives from psychology, sees the organization through the lens of human needs, emotions, skills, and relationships; the goal is to align organizational and human needs to build positive interpersonal and group dynamics. The main emphasis of the human resource manager is on support and empowerment. The political frame, which derives from political science (metaphor: jungle), has to do with power, conflict, competition, and organizational politics; this frame can be used to cope with power and conflict, build suitable coalitions and hone political connections, and to deal with both internal and external politics. The political leader understands conflict and limited resources and builds power bases and uses power carefully. The leader creates arenas for negotiating differences and coming up with reasonable compromises. And, finally, the symbolic frame draws from social and cultural anthropology, (metaphors: carnival, temple, or theater) and sees organizational cultures, propelled more by rituals, ceremonies, stories, heroes, and myths than by rules, policies, and managerial authorities; the goal of this frame is to shape a culture that gives a purpose and meaning to workers, and build team spirit through ceremony and story. The symbolic leaders' vision and inspiration are critical: people need something to believe in. People will give loyalty to an organization that has a unique identity and makes them feel that what they do is really important. Symbolism is important as is ceremony and rituals to communicate a sense of organizational mission. It is argued that not every frame works equally well in all situations. It is important for the true leader to adopt the framework that will be most appropriate for the situation.

McKimm and Held (2009) suggest that the limitations of leadership thinking in the early 1980s (notably in terms of explaining the relative inability of public sector hierarchies to cope with the pace of change) led to the evolution of a new leadership paradigm. New leadership theories include transactional/transformational leadership (Burns 1978) and charismatic (Bryman, 1992) leadership. There are significant differences between these theories but they also share some common ground: a view of leaders as providing meaning and creating organizational realities through vision, mission and core values.

Burns (1978) differentiated between transactional leadership, which does not seek to promote significant change, and transformational leadership, which generates visionary, large scale change. Transactional leadership is presented by Burns (1978) as an exchange relationship between leaders and followers, i.e. the leader offers incentives and in return the job is done efficiently. Bush (2008) argues that 'transactional leadership does not produce long-term commitment to the values and vision being promoted by school leaders' (p.108).

The transformational approach focuses on a leader's ability to inspire others to higher moral behaviour through visioning, meaning making and trust building. Bush (2008) suggests that transformational leadership provides a normative approach to school leadership, which focuses primarily on the process by which leaders seek to influence school outcomes rather than the nature or directions of those outcomes. However, transformational leadership may also be criticized as being a vehicle for control over teachers and may be more likely to be accepted by the leader than the led (Chirichello, 1999, cited in Bush, 2008). Bush also warns that the English system increasingly requires school leaders to adhere to government prescriptions which affect aims, curriculum content and pedagogy as well as values. He questions, therefore, whether school leaders are able to develop a specific vision for their schools, given government prescriptions about curriculum aims and content. Similarly, Hall et al., (2011) suggest that 'although widely critiqued both prior to and during its revival linked to the school improvement and effectiveness movement, the limits of the heroic transformational model of leadership become widely evident in England, in particular, as the endeavours of a small number of "super heads" failed to make any significant or lasting impression upon even the measurable outcomes of schools deemed in need of improvement' (p.33). However, some authors (McKimm & Held, 2009; Western, 2008) argue that transformational leadership has been seen as particularly relevant to large statutory organizations, especially those in the throes of major restructuring and reform.

The literature (e.g. Fisher & Koch, 1996) suggests that in the transformational context a 'hero' leader may be seen to emerge, personifying the notion of charismatic leadership. Charismatic leadership is influenced by leader traits and behaviour, the situational context and needs of the followers. Charismatic leadership is based on the leader's ability to communicate and behave in ways that reach followers on a basic, emotional level, to inspire and motivate. Charismatic leadership is dependent on followers' trust in the correctness of the leader's beliefs and similarly on followers' beliefs about the leader. Bolman and Deal (1991) argue that: 'individuals with charisma, political skills, verbal facility, or the capacity to articulate vision are powerful by virtue of their personal characteristics, in addition to whatever other power they may have' (p.197).

These types of theories discussed above focus mainly on 'heroic' leaders and provide an individualistic view of leadership. Nevertheless, some characteristics resonate with leadership in collaborative contexts. For example, within collaborative working the task of a transformational leader may be seen as to exhort the individual/organizational members to a shared commitment thereby increasing their capacity to achieve a unified, collective goal (Mckimm & Phillips, 2009). However, in the case of leader-follower relationships in collaborations it is often hard to understand 'who is in charge'.

Recognition of the limitations of the traditional 'leader-follower' dualism, which places the responsibility for leadership firmly in the hands of the 'leader' and represents the 'follower' as somewhat passive and subordinate, has resulted in a more collectively-embedded notion of leadership emphasising the need to turn followers into leaders through the development of leadership skills in others. This has arisen in the development of ideas of distributed leadership (e.g. Gronn, 2000, 2002; Spillane, 2006) and collaborative leadership (e.g. Chrislip & Larson, 1994; Rubin, 2009) which will be discussed next.

Distributed leadership

Over the last decade, there has been an increasing amount of literature on distributed leadership. Hall, Gunter and Bragg (2011) claim that distributed leadership has emerged as a dominant discourse in school leadership in England and suggested three explanations for this. The first lies within the limits of the transformational leadership model discussed above. Distributed leadership offered the attraction of remodelling leadership with the emphasis on leadership efforts not upon one individual but on individuals and groups more widely distributed or dispersed throughout the school (Hall et al., 2011:33). The second is that distributed leadership is associated with more democratic practices in schools where teachers have greater ownership of decisions. Finally, it can be seen as having the added appeal of masking or acting as a distraction from some of the harsher realities of school organizational life (Hartley, 2007) arising out of increasing centralization within England and its alignment with largely economic and instrumental purposes (Hall et al., 2011:33).

However, the literature shows very different understandings of the concept and empirical research in this area is as yet not very well developed (e.g. Hartley, 2010; Gronn, 2009, 2002, 2000; MacBeath, 2009, 2005, Leithwood et al., 2009, 2006; Harris, 2008; Mayrowetz, 2008; Hargreaves & Fink, 2008; Spillane, 2006; Spillane et al., 2009, 2008; Bennett et al., 2003).

In a review of the literature Bennett et al. (2003) suggest that, despite some variations in definition, distributed leadership is based on three main premises:

- leadership is an emergent property of a group or network of interacting individuals;
- there is an openness to the boundaries of leadership, i.e. who has a part to play both within and beyond the organization;
- varieties of expertise are distributed across the many, not the few. (Bennett et al., 2003:7).

Writers who argue for the merits of distributed leadership represent it as dynamic, relational, inclusive, collaborative and contextually situated. For example, in extended schools, one might include the contribution of parents, students and the local community, as well as teachers, in school leadership.

Among the authors mentioned above, who have attempted to develop a conceptual model of distributed leadership Gronn (2002, 2000) and Spillane (2006) perhaps provide the most comprehensive accounts.

Gronn (2002, 2000) draws a distinction between *additive* and *holistic* models of leadership distribution. *Additive* distribution refers to a dispersed pattern of leadership, whereby leadership behaviours are associated with multiple members of an organization, in relation to varying goals and/or tasks, but without a sense of rational and strategic alignment in who provides leadership for what. Different members can be identified as providing leadership for different things, but without a coordinated and concerted focus. A *holistic* pattern of leadership distribution, however, suggests greater interdependency and coordination among varied sources of leadership focused on shared goals and tasks.

For Spillane (2006) the distributed perspective shifts the focus from leaders to leadership practices. Leadership is viewed as a 'system of interacting practices that is more than the sum of the actions of individual leaders' (Spillane, 2006:16). The concept of leadership practices moves the focus from an exclusive concern with the actions of individual leaders to analysis of interactions among leaders, followers and their situations (Spillane et al., 2009:94).

Spillane (2006) identifies three arrangements for distributing leadership responsibilities: *division of labor* (different leaders separately perform different tasks), *co-performance* (multiple leaders jointly perform independent tasks), and *parallel performance* (multiple leaders perform the same tasks but in different contexts). Gronn (2002) similarly

distinguishes between situations in which leadership for specific tasks is enacted by multiple leaders together or separately. Spillane (2006) expands his formulation by defining three types of co-performance: *collaborative distribution* (two or more leaders jointly enact the same leadership practice in the same context); *collective distribution* (two or more leaders perform interdependent tasks in different contexts in support of the same goal); and *coordinated distribution* (interdependent actions of two or more leaders perform in a particular sequence).

From the literature reviewed above, it seems that distributed leadership appears to resonate with the demands of working in collaborative contexts, given the latter's non-hierarchical nature where negotiation, compromise and consensus-seeking strategies are important to achieve mutual benefits and where expertise and knowledge are possessed by professionals from a range of fields and agencies; and where continuous learning, shared understanding and building relationships are crucial. However, Spillane (2006) warns against equating distributed and collaborative leadership, arguing that: 'while collaborative leadership is by definition distributed, all distributed leadership is not necessarily collaborative. Indeed, a distributed perspective allows for leadership that can be more collaborative or less collaborative, depending on the situation' (Spillane, 2006:23).

Research Evidence on Leadership in Extended Schools

There are some studies focused on exploring leadership practice in extended schools. However, the evidence of distributed leadership available so far is rather patchy. There are some general statements like, for example, 'distributed leadership is unavoidable within collaborative settings, as authority for action is shared across professional groups and organizational boundaries' (Coleman, 2006). These claims do not give a picture of how distributed leadership operates across boundaries of extended schools on a daily basis.

Cummings et al. (2006) observed a wide range of leadership arrangements in Full-Service Schools. There were examples when headteachers actively involved others in leadership as the perceived complexity of inter-agency work made it, in their view, impossible to handle on their own. Thus, distributed leadership in this case is a way of dealing with what Gronn (2002), following Braverman (1974), calls 'work intensification'. In other schools the distributed model was one of parallel performance, with the headteacher retaining strong overall control while delegating leadership tasks to a school-based coordinator. However, some caution needs to be attached to these findings as there is a danger of equating 'informal' and 'distributed' leadership.

Harris et al. (2007) in their study of 'Understanding the reasons why schools do not fully engage with the Every Child Matters/Extended Schools agenda' found that models of distributed leadership differed from school to school, but that it was clear that a major difference between high and low implementation schools was the style of leadership and the degree of distribution. They suggested some key common features of distributed leadership observed in the study such as:

- extended leadership team;
- involvement of outside agencies on leadership team;
- new leadership structure;
- more points of decision making with outside agencies;
- alignment of workforce remodelling clear lines of accountability;
- distribution of authority and responsibility (p.38).

However, these characteristics do not provide a clear picture of distributed leadership practice in schools. For example, they do not indicate to what extent outside agencies have influenced decision making within a school, or how it is possible to establish 'clear' lines of accountability in an inter-organizational context. There is limited evidence available in the report. Nevertheless, this study makes a valuable contribution and draws

our attention towards contextual factors which support or challenge engagement with the extended schools programme.

Muijs (2007) in his research on leadership in full-service extended schools concluded that leadership styles differed significantly between headteachers, and that distributed leadership was not present in eight schools involved in the study. There was consultation with staff and pupils, though there did not appear to be a great deal of involvement of non-school staff. In some cases school leadership was much more distributed and was characterized by a large leadership team, the headteacher being described by staff as 'visionary', while the deputy head exercised the day-to-day management of the school. Muijs (2007) suggests that the headteacher 'had initially led through strong central control, but had progressively distributed leadership as he felt capacity in the school to increase' (p.357). Thus, this study raises the question: what are the limits to the leadership being distributed?

Middlewood and Parker (2009) claim that headteachers in extended schools will have to delegate and empower others to lead – or they will inevitably fail to lead anything (p.42). Furthermore, leaders of extended schools will have to examine their current roles and accept the fact that conventional leadership styles will not allow them to operate extended schools successfully without running themselves into the ground. The authors suggest alternative styles of leadership in extended schools such as: the enthusiast; the entrepreneur; the maverick; the politician; and the ethical sharer. Furthermore, they claim that headteachers in order to lead extended schools must demonstrate total commitment to the principle that every child deserves the best access to lifelong learning and leaders need to work collaboratively at both the strategic and operational levels with parents and carers and across multiple agencies for the well-being of all children (Middlewood & Parker, 2009). While the authors make some useful suggestions about alternative leadership styles of headteachers in extended schools, there is a lack of empirical evidence to support the existence or effectiveness of those styles.

From the reviewed literature it is not clear whether or not distributed leadership is a way of bringing about collaborative working in the extended schools programme. Therefore, it is necessary to review the notion of collaborative leadership more widely.

Collaborative leadership

The literature on collaborative leadership remains sparse and has largely emerged in areas outside of education, most notably health, the third sector and community engagement. In 1994 Chrislip and Larson concluded that collaboration needs a different kind of leadership. Based on empirical data collected in the US they suggested:

'Leaders are those who articulate a vision, inspire people to act, and focus on concrete problems and results. [But] collaboration needs a different kind of leadership; it needs leaders who can safeguard the process, facilitate interaction, and patiently deal with high levels of frustration. Collaboration works when ... leaders ... keep the process going' (Chrislip & Larson, 1994:42).

Because leadership in the collaborative context is entirely different from hierarchical leadership within an organization collaborative leaders guide rather than control, motivate rather than direct. However, according to Rubin (2009), too many public leaders have never learnt how to build and sustain relationships with people and organizations with whom they must collaborate.

Several attempts have been made to conceptualize collaborative leadership (e.g. Chrislip & Larson, 1994; Huxham & Vangen, 2005; Rubin, 2009; McKimm & Phillips, 2009). However, extensive review of the literature suggests that a lot of these characterisations are reworkings of the same ideas or drawing a 'super-hero' picture of collaborative leaders with a long list of required qualities and skills which link back to the trait approach to leadership discussed above. Nevertheless, a useful conceptualisation of collaborative leadership is suggested by the Turning Point Programme (2003a) which was initiated in

the US to transform and strengthen the public health system. Based on rich data (e.g. literature reviews, individual interviews, focus groups, expert panel debates, attendance at leadership training programmes) the Turning Point Programme (TPP) identified key qualities that characterised collaborative leaders such as: clarity of values; ability to see commonalities; visioning and mobilising, and developing people. The most valuable contribution of the TPP is the ‘Six Practices of Collaborative Leadership’ which are presented in the Table 4.

Table 4 The six practices of collaborative leadership

Assessing the Environment	Understanding the context for change before you act
Creating clarity	Defining shared values and engaging people in positive action
Building Trust	Creating safe places for developing shared purpose and action
Sharing Power and Influence	Developing synergy of people, organizations, and communities to accomplish a shared vision
Developing People	Committing to people as a key asset through coaching and mentoring
Self-Reflection	Understanding your own values, attitudes, and behaviours as they relate to your leadership style and its impact on others

Source: http://www.turningpointprogram.org/toolkit/pdf/CL_fund_concepts_manual.pdf p.33

In discussing each of the practices suggested by the TPP I will relate them to the elements of collaborative leadership as described by other authors including Chrislip and Larson 1994; Huxham and Vangen 2005; Edwards and Smit 2008; Rubin 2009; McKimm and Phillips 2009.

Assessing the environment

‘Assessing the environment’ refers to the capacity to recognise common interests and understand other perspectives. It is proposed as a fundamental quality of collaborative leadership in the TPP (2003c). Similarly, Chrislip and Larson (1994) point out that collaborative leaders lead in unfamiliar territory where few established working relationships exist. Collaboration seeks goal attainment around shared visions, purposes,

and values. People gain understanding through sharing information and it requires good communication skills and a willingness to be open to other people and ideas.

Huxham and Vangen (2005) argue that the formation and implementation of collaborative agendas is led by three media – structure, processes and participants – which are clearly interlinked. Structures influence process designs and what participants can do. Processes influence the structures that emerge and who can influence the agenda. Participants influence the design of both structure and process. Thus, according to Huxham and Vangen (2005), these media may be thought of as providing *contextual leadership* (p.208).

Similarly, Rubin (2009) claims that through strategic thinking and planning collaborative leaders make the connection between the big picture and the individual collaborative partner. Leaders need to learn how to change their approach when appropriate, and to think as part of a group, instead of solely as an individual. Collaborative leaders need to learn systems thinking, or how to understand the inter-relatedness of ideas, groups and patterns (TPP, 2003b:58). This view of collaborative leadership is similar to Senge's (1990) ideas about learning organizations and systems thinking.

Senge (1990) emphasises collaborative learning and team skills, rather than individual skills and individual learning, as being the key to successful and sustainable organizational development. Systems thinking, rather than focusing on the individuals within an organization, looks at a larger number of interactions within the organization and in between organizations. It is 'concerned with a shift of mind from seeing parts to seeing wholes, from seeing people as helpless reactors to seeing them as active participants in shaping their reality, from reaching to the present to creating the future' (Senge, 1990:69). Thus, systems thinking may be an important resource for collaborative leaders working in complex inter-organizational contexts.

According to the TPP (2003c), a collaborative leader facilitates connections and encourages group thinking that identifies clear, beneficial change for all participants. The goal is to set priorities and then to identify barriers and obstacles to the achievement of those priorities.

In short, by assessing the environment, collaborative leaders learn about the wider context which includes structure, process, and participants beyond the organizational boundaries.

Creating clarity

Defining shared values and engaging people in positive action are described by many authors as an important collaborative leadership practice (e.g. Chrislip & Larson, 1994; Huxham & Vangen; 2005; Rubin, 2009; McKimm & Phillips, 2009). For example, Chrislip and Larson (1994) suggest that it is necessary to build 'broad-based involvement'. This effort involved many participants (with different perspectives, beliefs and values) from several sectors – for example, government, business and community groups – as opposed to few participants predominantly from one sector (Chrislip & Larson, 1994:52). Furthermore, the mutual benefit of working together, as argued by Chrislip (2002) is more than the sharing of knowledge and information. In fact the relationships allow each party to achieve its own goals. Mature, professional and high quality interpersonal relationships are imperative if the shared vision is to be made real.

According to the TPP (2006c), 'visioning and mobilising', in relation to clarity of values, has to do with a commitment to a process or a way of doing things. Visioning and mobilizing is close to ideas of transformational leadership discussed above. Often 'mobilising' refers specifically to helping people develop the confidence to take action and sustain their energies through difficult times. Meanwhile, Huxham and Vangen (2005) claim that mobilising members to make things happen is a supportive leadership role in

relation to collaboration. The TPP (2006:2) suggests that 'clarity leads to focus which leads to increased group energy (power)'. It is argued that a shared vision can be inspiring. However, often too little effort is spent in the process of 'informal exploring' to understand problems, so as to develop clarity.

Edwards and Smit (2008) suggest that in a context where collaborative leadership is practised, a collaborative culture can emerge and flourish. Notably, relationships that are reciprocal in nature give rise to the creation of collaborative culture which is characterised by inclusiveness (Edwards & Smit, 2008:114). Emanating from inclusiveness is an emphasis on the value of relationships, whose role Rubin (2009) regards as central to collaborative culture. He refers to them as 'relationships that bind' (p.17), connecting partners to and within the collaboration.

Building trust

Trust is an essential ingredient of organizational success and of collaborative leadership practice, as already mentioned in this chapter. The TPP (2003c) argues that the capacity to promote and sustain trust is often overlooked in the collaborative process. Leaders sometimes believe that, once individuals and/or groups are gathered together, a plan can be made easily and commitment obtained. Rubin (2009) suggests that collaborative leaders have to be trustworthy, otherwise their collaborative partners will not be comfortable sacrificing some of their control over decision making. Furthermore, he emphasises that 'institutional leaders agree to follow leaders they trust; they must be confident that [...] their trust will not be abused and their decisions to join the collaboration will never be a source of embarrassment' (Rubin, 2009:61).

Based on the findings from research undertaken into the importance of trust as a driver of a school-based collaboration, Coleman (2008) has developed a trust-centred model of collaborative leadership. This includes five leadership domains: *managing meaning*;

making decisions; influencing people; building relationships, and delivering results. He argues that, while each domain is important, the area of building relationships is fundamental to collaborative working and includes: supporting individuals, developing collaboration, engaging additional partners and building social capital. Meanwhile, the TPP (2006c) claims that 'if a collaborative leader fails to engender trust among participants [...] their involvement will wane, and the best ideas and innovative approaches will not be shared' (p.2). In this context, collaboration will have lost its capacity to draw the best ideas from those involved.

Sharing power and influence

The capacity to share power and influence is an uncommon trait among leaders (TPP, 2006c). In traditional leadership analyses power is viewed as being exercised in one direction: by those with power on those without. In collaborative leadership models power is viewed differently. According to the TPP (2006) power should be regarded as infinite, not scarce, and it can be created. People can gain power without anyone losing power. When people join together to work on a public issue, they generate new power through their knowledge, credibility, and problem solving. Similarly, Chrislip & Larson, (1994) point to a redistribution or even a fragmentation of pre-existing power relations. They suggested that 'different perspectives enhance the wisdom brought to problem-solving efforts and the possibilities for real change. Expanding the pool of stakeholders can help overcome some of the obstacles that make leadership difficult by creating a broader power base' (Chrislip & Larson, 1994:66). Collaborative leadership requires a new notion of power: the more power collaborative leaders share, the more they have to use. The TPP (2003c) argues that participants in the decision-making process need to feel empowered in order to contribute fully. Too often it is only the head of an organization who receives public accolades, despite the fact that the success was only possible through the shared effort and wide range of experience of a large team of people. Therefore, 'rather than being

concerned about losing power through collaboration, leaders need to see that sharing power actually generates power - that power is not a finite resource' (TPP, 2003).

From the perspective of theory of collaborative advantage, Huxham and Vangen (2005) suggest that leaders often work between two extremes: supporting 'the spirit of collaboration' and a pragmatic approach – collaborative thuggery - to getting things done which may sometimes contradict this spirit' (p.186). The pragmatic actions involve: actively managing the power infrastructure through holding individuals to account; manipulating agendas, and playing politics. Understanding the kinds of entities that typically make up a power infrastructure and acknowledging that different powers will be available at different times, can allow participants to work in a fast reflective way in both leadership modes (Huxham & Vangen, 2005:186).

Developing People

According to the TPP (2003), this practice is best described as a genuine concern for bringing out the best in others, maximizing the use of other people's talents and resources, building power through sharing power, and giving up ownership or control (p.2). Chrislip and Larson (1994) suggest that collaborative leaders inspire commitment and action: they are action-oriented. But the action involves convincing people that something can be done, not telling them what to do or doing the work for them. The TPP (2006) maintains that coaching and mentoring creates power, which increases leadership capacities and builds confidence by encouraging experimentation, goal-setting, and performance feedback (p.2). Furthermore, as Chrislip and Larson (1994) emphasise, it is important to convince participants that each person's input is valued. Similarly, Rubin (2009) claims that 'the contribution of any collaborative leader is his or her ability to expand the capacity of others to cause change' (p.63). He points out that 'the social virtue of collaborative leadership is that it is an investment in individual capacity-building for a shared or overlapping public benefit' (Rubin, 2009:63). Chrislip and Larson (1994)

conclude any citizen has the capacity to practise collaborative leadership - the skills and concepts can be learnt.

Huxham and Vangen (2005) suggest that a supportive leadership role in relation to collaboration depends on: embracing the 'right' kind of members; empowering members to enable participation; involving and supporting all members; and mobilising members to make things happen. Embracing the 'right' kind of members often seems to occupy the attention of partnership managers on a continuing basis. Two inverse challenges can arise: they can find themselves devoting effort both to attracting the partners that are needed and to supporting those who want to be partners (Huxham & Vangen, 2005:215). Furthermore, 'leadership aimed at driving forward a collaboration in a holistic manner requires a very large amount of resource in the form of energy, commitment, skill and continual nurturing' (Huxham & Vangen 2005:212).

Self-reflection

The TPP (2006) claims that to be successful in leading a collaborative process, individuals must use self-reflection to examine and understand their values and think about whether their behaviours are congruent with their values. Reflection in action is defined by Schön (1987) as the ability of professionals to 'think what they are doing while they are doing it' (p.66). He regards this as a key skill and asserts that the only way to manage the 'indeterminate zones of practice' is through the ability to think on your feet, and apply previous experience to new situations. This is essential to the work of the professional.

At critical junctures in the collaborative process, through reflection, leaders make time to consider verbal and non-verbal communication within the groups. The TPP (2006) emphasises that collaborative leaders think critically about the impact their actions and words have on the group's progress toward achieving its goals. Furthermore, 'collaborative leaders have the ability to recognise the impact of their behaviour and adjust

accordingly' (TPP, 2006:2). Chrislip and Larson (1994) propose the importance of celebrating of achievement along the way.

Overall, the ideas and approaches discussed above can be summarised under three broad categories of collaborative leadership: *leader as learner*, *leader as collaborator*, and *leader as supporter* which are presented in Table 5.

Table 5 Framework of collaborative leadership

Category	Characteristics
<i>The Leader as learner</i>	The development of systems thinking a concern with assessing the environment high quality interpersonal communication skills self-reflection
<i>The Leader as collaborator</i>	creating clarity strategic thinking embracing, empowering members consensus building diplomacy sharing power and influence
<i>The Leader as supporter</i>	involving, developing and supporting people asset-based perspectives integrity a commitment to diversity mutual benefits sees people as end, not as means coaching convince people that each person's input is valued building trust

For the purpose of this study the above framework that presents collaborative leadership through characteristics of leaders as learner, collaborator and supporter will be used.

Research Evidence on Collaborative Leadership

The studies covered in the literature review on collaborative leadership are fragmented. However, the conclusions from those studies support the framework of collaborative leadership presented in this section. For example, Telford (1996) conducted research on 'Transforming schools through collaborative leadership' in Australia. The study suggests the importance of shared vision; staff, parents and student participation in the decision-

making process; reaching agreements through discussion, negotiation and compromise in a climate of openness.

In a study aimed at investigating the understandings, skills and attitudes needed for collaborative leadership in Canada, Slater (2005) found that working collaboratively requires principals to develop new skills, behaviour and knowledge. The study showed that principals also need to reject the assumption that 'individuals who have worked in conventional or traditional ways in schools will know how to collaborate effectively' (Slater, 2005:330/1). The conclusion to the research states that 'collaboration requires leaders to develop a new compendium of skills and adapt new "mind-sets" and "ways of being"(Slater, 2005:332).

Briggs (2008), in a study conducted in England, sought to analyse leadership issues in partnership for 14-19 educational provision. She suggests that 'partnership needs time to build collaborative leadership, to establish mutual trust and to develop partnership activity which is capable of riding the waves of policy' (Briggs, 2008:20). Her evidence shows that collaborative leadership in multiple organizations at strategic and operational level may be constrained by personal ambivalence, by power issues between organizations, by issues of resource, and by the differing agendas and cultures of each organization in the partnership. Therefore, Briggs (2008) concludes by arguing the importance of keeping a power balance and of accepting of others' leadership. Finally, Briggs makes an important point that collaborative leadership has to be created.

The implications from these studies include:

- collaboration does not occur automatically and needs to be designed;
- shared vision and values are necessary;
- professional development of staff and more training in collaboration are required;
- collective decision-making through negotiation and compromise are important;

- keeping balance of power is necessary;
- acceptance of others' leadership must be forthcoming;
- trust building is essential.

2.5 Understanding the Nature of Trust, Networks, and Power in Organizations

The literature discussed above emphasises three themes in particular: the centrality of trust, the importance of networks as a means of generating trust between partners, and the significance of power as a variable in the operation of networks and generation of trust. These themes will be discussed next.

2.5.1 Trust Building

The key message from the literature is that trust is pivotal in efforts to improve education, and yet, trust seems ever more difficult to achieve and maintain within inter-agency collaborative working (e.g. Coleman 2008; Atkinson et al., 2007; Huxham & Vangen, 2000a, 2005; Fullan 2003; Sullivan & Skelcher, 2002). Lack of trust is frequently cited as one reason why collaborations are less effective than they might be in achieving their goals through joint working (Huxham & Vangen, 2000b).

Trust plays a critical but variable role, too, in the literature on social capital. The literature shows that critical conditions for the formation of social capital are trust and trustworthiness (e.g. Fukuyama, 1995; Coleman 1990; Putnam, 1993,). For Fukuyama (1995) trust is both the condition for, and the effect of, the forms of social capital – collective values, social networks – that underpin social cohesion and shape economic growth. Putnam, in contrast, sees trust in less general terms as one element of social capital – one of those 'features of social organization', along with norms and networks,

'that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitative coordinated action' (Putnam, 1993:167). He argues that the qualities of trust and reciprocity that are developed in civil relationships create the capacity among citizens to engage in collective action and increase their expectations about the nature of their relationships with the institutions of government (Putnam, 1993). Both Coleman and Putnam also see trust and reciprocity as arising from the activities that create social capital and as contributing to social capital in their own right (Croll, 2004:403). There is also a view (e.g. Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998) that trust can often (but not always) be transferred from one social setting to another. This is intrinsic to the nature of social capital. Examples include the transfer of trust from family and religious affiliations into work situations (Fukuyama, 1995), and the development of personal relationships into business exchange (Coleman, 1990).

Trust is also identified by many writers as a key feature of leadership for influence and change (e.g. Bottery 2004, 2003; Bryk & Schneider 2002; Fullan 2003; Bennis & Goldsmith, 1994) and trust among teachers, for example, lays the foundation of professional learning communities (Hargreaves, 2007a; Tschannen-Moran, 2009, 2004). Hargreaves (2007a) explained that professional learning communities are built upon three main principles: pupils' learning is of utmost importance; the school must be able to learn collectively as an organization; and attention must be given to emotions as well as to learning.

The literature suggests that trust is informed by a combination of personal, inter-personal, organizational and societal factors. There is a long list of definitions of trust. Tschannen-Moran and Hoy (2000) point out that 'trust has been difficult to define because it is a complex concept and [it] seems by now well established that trust is multifaceted and may have different bases and degrees depending on the context of the trust relationship' (p.551). Among most definitions, vulnerability is assumed to be a general aspect of trust relations (e.g. Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2000). Ability, benevolence and integrity are

regarded as characteristics specific to a party that influences the willingness of another party to risk engagement in a relationship (Mayer et al., 1995).

Two types of trust are often identified. Firstly, there is that which we have in individuals we know and secondly, that which we have in individuals we do not know (e.g. Harper, 2001). In Putnam's terms this is 'thick' and 'thin' trust, whereby thickness is seen as a property of intimate social networks and thinness as generalised trust in other community members. Norms of trust and reciprocity within networks are the capital resources, which are inherently social, the outcomes of which are various forms of collective action.

There is a two-way interaction between trust and cooperation: trust lubricates cooperation, and cooperation itself breeds trust (e.g. Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). This may lead to the development over time, of generalised norms of cooperation, which increase yet further the willingness to engage in social exchange (Putnam, 1993). Fukuyama (1995) suggests a 'radius of trust' and by this he means a cycle of people among whom co-operative norms operate.

With respect to school organization, Bryk and Schneider (2002) identified what they called 'relational trust'. They defined this in terms of four criteria: respect, competence, personal regard for others, and integrity. Bottery (2004) views relational trust as trust between the different groups (parents, teachers, principal and local government) who each play a vital role in attaining institutional objectives. Bryk and Schneider (2002) found that a broader base of trust is the 'lubricant' that is necessary for a school's day-to-day functioning, and is a critical resource as leaders embark on ambitious improvement initiatives (see Chapter 2, section 2.3.3.).

The literature provides us with a range of typologies of trust. For example, trust can be separated into 'competence trust' and 'goodwill trust' (e.g. Purdue 2001). Competence trust refers to trusting that the other person or organization has the capability to control

risk by meeting their commitments, whereas goodwill is an emotional acceptance of the moral commitment of the other not to exploit vulnerability (Purdue, 2001).

Trust is often seen as a continuum from complete distrust to complete trust (e.g. Bottery, 2004; Macmillan et al., 2005). Bottery (2004) argues that trust leads to deeper more meaningful relationships, in which people come to respect each other's integrity and care for one another, but he also claims that this does not mean that all relationships require the highest levels of trust, for even though this may be intrinsically desirable, there is seldom the time to develop such a degree of understanding.

Several attempts have been made to identify strategies for generating and sustaining trust (e.g. Bottery, 2004; Huxham & Vangen, 2005, Coleman, 2008). The main argument that they share in common is that trust builds over time and is based on intuitive knowledge.

Huxham and Vangen (2005) suggest a 'trust building loop' through which trust is initially established and developed within collaborative contexts. Central to this process is a strategy of building trust incrementally by managing risk and achieving small wins. According to Huxham and Vangen (2005), initiation of the trust building cycle requires practitioners to have both the ability to form expectations about the future outcomes of the collaboration and a willingness to take a risk. Their capacity to do this rests in their ability to form agreements about the purpose of the collaboration, to be clear about their investment in it and what they expect in return. In turn, this affects their ability to assess the likelihood that their partners will behave in ways that seem appropriate to the furtherance of that purpose.

A number of elements are recurrent themes in the literature on trust reviewed above.

These are:

- relationships and reciprocity;
- trust is multifaceted;

- vulnerability is a general aspect of trust relations;
- trust lubricates cooperation and cooperation breeds trust;
- managing risk;
- ability, benevolence, vision, empathy, consistency, integrity, respect, competence, personal regard for others are key characteristics of trust.

The literature (e.g. Zacharakis & Flora, 2005) suggests that networks are the main mechanism through which trust is developed and reciprocity established. The next section will discuss the issues of networking and its importance in collaborative settings.

2.5.2 Networking

Networks were an important theme in the dominant educational policy discourse during New Labour Governments. Newman (2002) claims that 'networks and partnerships, public participation and democratic renewal, are all symbols of what has been termed a new form of governance in the UK' (p.7). Similarly, Hatcher (2008) argues that 'networks [...] can be best understood as forms of governance networks: their potential for horizontal relationships is over-determined by vertical relations of hierarchy driven by government agendas' (p.28).

Networks are not easy to define. Alter and Hage (1993) commented that 'the academic literature is complex, the popular literature on networking is vague and vacuous' (p.46).

They provide the following definition:

'Networks constitute the basic social form that permits inter-organizational interactions of exchange, concerted action, and joint production. [...] Networking is the art of creating and/or maintaining a cluster of organization for the purpose of exchanging, acting, or producing among the member organizations' (Alter & Hage, 1993:46).

Hatcher (2008) claims that network is a pluralistic concept: networks can serve very different educational-political interests. Networks offer the potential of new participatory relationships among teachers across schools, but also the potential of simply being

vehicles for the transformation and implementation of government agendas (Hatcher, 2008:29). Howes and Frankham (2009) argue that networking can lead to greater equity in a system through a relatively decentralized flow of knowledge and other resources, managed through relationships which are themselves constructed through the networking activity (p.119). However, Fullan (2004), whilst considering the purpose and direction of change, argues that, despite their potential, networks may lead to 'cluttering' the system and a loss of focus (p.19).

Brass (2001) connects social capital to leadership by articulating the role of a leader as a link in complex social networks. He notes that the social capital created by networks can involve factors such as obligation and expectation, norms and sanctions, or needed information. Social networks act as conduits to the information and human capital provided by others, augmenting the limited perspective and information processing capacities of individual leaders. Alternatively, networks can also constrain leaders and create liabilities as well as social capital, depending on the types and structure of relationships.

Nahapiet & Ghoshal (1998) argue that network ties influence both access to parties for combining and exchanging knowledge and anticipation of value through such exchange. Networks and network structures, thus, represent facets of social capital that influence the range of information that may be accessed and that becomes available for combination.

Brass (2001) describes types of relationships based on a distinction between strong, weak and negative ties. Strong ties are based on more frequent contacts, have higher emotional intensity, and may be the primary medium for social influence. Brass (2001) claims that strong ties require time and energy to maintain, they are difficult to break, and they may prevent access to new opportunities (p.137). Strong ties can be associated with the sort of thick trust discussed above.

Weak ties, which are often developed through relatively infrequent contacts with external stakeholders or divergent groups, 'are key sources of novel, divergent, nonredundant information or resources' (Brass, 2001:138). They help develop an understanding of an organization's role in broader systems. Brass (2001) notes that transformational leaders use such networks in developing visions and that such networks have been shown to relate to organizational performance.

Negative ties, according to Brass (2001) represent the opposite end of the continuum of strong and weak ties. The importance of considering the social liabilities of negative relationships is based on negative asymmetry: the possibility that negative ties may have greater explanatory power than positive ties in organizations (Brass, 2001:138). There is a longstanding argument in the social science literature that conflict (the most obvious form of 'negative' tie) can function to create solidarity not only within the two sides, but sometimes create links between the conflicting sides, where there are overlapping or cross-cutting conflicts (Coser, 1956). Weak and negative ties can be linked to the kind of thin trust mentioned above.

Networks differ in structural qualities, with *centrality* in networks being a source of power for leaders. Brass (2001) suggests that centrality in networks also allows leaders to transmit visions and values created through networks of weak ties. This view concurs with other social network analyses discussed above (see Section 2.3.1).

The implications from the literature are:

- networking allows organizations to utilize capital held by other actors;
- networking improves the flow of information;
- networks can influence their environment.

2.5.3 Power Relationships

Power is at the centre of human life. The usual distinction between power and influence developed in the literature is between the use of coercion and the use of persuasion, or at least the balance between the two.

The literature highlights that power can be viewed from multiple perspectives. For example, Bolman and Deal (2003) suggest that structural theorists typically emphasize authority, the legitimate prerogative to make binding decisions. From this point of view, managers make rational decisions (optimal and consistent with purpose), monitor actions to ensure decisions are implemented, and evaluate how well subordinates carry out directives. In contrast, human resource theorists place little emphasis on power, though they often promote the idea of empowerment. Human resource theorists tend to focus on influence that enhances mutuality and collaboration. The implicit hope is that participation, openness, and collaboration make power a nonissue (Bolman & Deal, 2003).

Huxham and Vangen (2005) argue that in the context of collaboration power is not always about how it could be used by one party over another for that party's own gain. Power is also considered in ways that are more collaborative, as a way of enhancing the joint endeavour and (from the altruistic perspective) as means of empowering of others. Huxham and Vangen (2005) suggest a spectrum for the use of power in collaboration: '*power over* – own gain', '*power to* – mutual gain', and '*power for* – altruistic gain'. In *power over*, the concern is with the control of the relationship and thus power over others. From the *power to* perspective, power is used for mutual gain of the partners to help collaboration function effectively. *Power for* is seen as an altruistic position that is concerned with using collaboration to transfer power to another party or other parties. Huxham and Vangen (2005) argue that collaborative empowerment 'is the most solid conception of the *power for* perspective, relating to the use of power by one party to build the capacity of another party' (p.177). Furthermore, *power for* as well as *power to* can

also be seen as an 'encapsulation of the spirit of collaborative advantage' (Huxham & Vangen 2005).

However, Huxham and Vangen (2005) warn that the interdependence between members in a collaborative project means that power cannot be entirely unilateral (i.e. 'power over'), and at the minimal level, any member can at least resort to the 'threat to exit'. So whilst dependency renders individual members unable to enact the collective agenda on their own, typically any member has enough power to block the process of collaboration (Huxham & Vangen, 2005:165).

Power is a feature not only of formal mechanisms, but also of informal networks between key individuals in collaboration. As discussed above, issues of centrality, and weak and strong ties are important determinants of power.

A number of elements appear frequently as recurrent themes in the literature on power reviewed above. These relate to:

- the multi-directional character of power relationships;
- imbalance of power;
- sharing power;
- empowerment.

As the notion of 'empowerment' is given high priority on the government policy agenda it is important to discuss it more in detail.

Empowerment

The term 'empowerment' is subject to controversy as it seems to embrace different meanings in the educational, community, political, and social care literatures. Lincoln et al. (2002) argue that 'empowerment is 'a highly elusive theoretical concept – it has no single guru, nor does it define a clear-cut set of policy initiatives. Instead, it is much more

free-floating, evoking, in vague terms, a new liberated world of work' (p. 272). According to the Collins Dictionary (1992), to empower is 'to give power or authority' but Miller (1993) claims:

'It is a term I avoid because of its ambiguity: between becoming more powerful and making more powerful. The notion of giving power is inherently patronising – it implies dependency – and hence is itself dis-empowering. Power cannot be given, only taken. That being said, power and dependency are central issues for a consultant working with organizations' (Miller, 1993:xvi).

Similarly, Western (2008) argues that the concept is troubling because of its rather grandiose claims to give power to others. He suggests that 'for a leader to know what is best for the follower has a patronizing tone' (Western, 2008:116). One could also argue that it is hard to know when empowerment has occurred. For example, Peterman (2000), in studying community-led neighbourhood activity in Chicago, identifies three separate uses of the term 'empowerment': as the management of services; as participation in decision-making in government; and as community control involving a transfer of power. Chrislip and Larson (1994) claim that 'people talk readily of the need to "empower" others, but no one can figure out how to do it' (p.118).

The literature shows that empowerment is a contested concept, its meaning shifts according to the interests and goals of those who use it. For workers, it may promise a re-balance of power and a way of fighting the oppression which they see as existing in their organization. For management, it promises a more committed and involved workforce who will take initiatives within constraints that they set, and thereby contribute to the profitability and success of organization. The innate vagueness of 'empowerment' allows these differing expectations to coexist and to survive (Lincoln et al., 2002:283)

Much of the theoretical work on empowerment has been associated with Zimmerman (1990, and also see Zimmerman & Rappaport, 1988). Although empowerment may operate at multiple levels of analysis, Zimmerman has emphasized how it is manifested at an individual or psychological level of analysis. He has theorized that psychological empowerment operates through *intrapersonal*, *interactional*, and *behavioural* components.

As an intrapersonal component, empowerment addresses the manner in which individuals think about themselves and includes concepts of perceived control, self-efficacy, motivations to control, and perceived competence (Zimmerman, 1990). The interactional component of psychological empowerment assesses how people understand and relate to their social environment. Interactional characteristics address one's ability to develop a critical understanding of the forces that shape the environment and knowledge of the resources required and methods to access those resources to produce social change. Interactional characteristics include leadership skills, problem solving, and critical awareness (Zimmerman, 1990; 1995). The behavioural component of psychological empowerment includes actions that address needs in specific contexts (Speer et al., 2001:717).

Empowerment has been a leitmotiv of the current leadership discourse. Huxham and Vangen (2005, 2000) see empowerment as one of the key leadership tasks in collaborative settings, where its role is to encourage ownership and participation in the collaborative process.

In the educational literature, discussions of empowerment have tended to focus either on teachers or, to a small extent, on students and parents. Sergiovanni and Starratt (1993) view teacher empowerment as a moral activity of educational leaders (e.g. principals) and as a moral basis for teacher autonomy and professionalism. Meanwhile, the work of Thomas and Velthouse (1990) interprets empowerment in terms of the emotional response to work rather than the feeling evoked by management or management practice. Empowerment is defined in terms of intrinsic task motivation and internalised commitment to the task (Lincoln et al., 2002:283). Furthermore, economic reasons also provide a rationale for empowerment within organizations: the desire to remain competitive drives management to look for ways of improving efficiency, and one way is through the development of a sense of ownership and responsibility on the part of employees (Lincoln et al., 2002:277). The danger, of course, is that, if empowerment only occurs as a result of

economic motives, this may blunt its critical edge and accentuate the superficial nature of its meaning (Lincoln et al., 2002:277).

The literature suggests that parental empowerment is a positive force for change (e.g. Fine, 1993, Fullan, 1993; Sergiovanni, 2002). In particular, Fine (1993) argues:

The presumption of equality between parents and schools, and the refusal to address power struggles, has systematically undermined real educational transformation... [Parents] rarely have the opportunity to work collaboratively with educators, inventing what could be a rich, engaging, and democratic system for public education' (p.684).

Boivar and Chrispeels (2011) write that 'one pathway pursued by policymakers and parent-involved advocates has been to establish school councils in which parents have advising or decision-making roles' (p.6).

There is also a message from the literature about importance of parental engagement and parental leadership roles in ways that support community collaborative decision making and empowerment (Harris et. al, 2009; Harris & Goodall, 2008; Fullan, 1993). Goodman et al., (1998) claim that it is important to empower community leaders by allowing them to facilitate the following processes within the community: conflict resolution, collection and analysis of data, problem-solving, programme planning, resource mobilisation, and policy advocacy. Community history, and social, economic and political changes, are relevant here.

Arnstein's ladder of participation (Arnstein, 1969) is quoted frequently in the literature of community participation and empowerment. It has eight 'rungs', from *Manipulation* at the bottom to *Citizen Control* at the top. These rungs are divided into three sub-categories:

- Starting from the bottom, the rungs *Manipulation* and *Therapy* are categorized as *Non-Participation*;
- The next three rungs, in ascending order, *Informing*, *Consultation*, and *Placation* are categorized as *Degrees of Tokenism*;
- The top three rungs are *Partnership*, *Delegated Power*, and *Citizen Control*, which are categorized as *Degree of Citizen's Power*.

The ladder of participation highlights that relatively few of the rungs are categorized as 'citizen power'. Many strands of government, and indeed other organizations, are keen to promote 'consultation', and often use of this word in policy statements seems to imply the expectation of a resultant social equality (Watt et al., 2000:122). However, Arnstein (1969) argued that consultation is nothing more than tokenism, and that 'partnership' would be a more effective route to citizen empowerment.

Research suggests that participation of the local community in the planning of community services increases the likelihood that new services will more effectively meet the community's needs (e.g. Beresford, P & Croft, 1992; Barnes & Shardlow, 1996; Forbes & Sashidharan, 1997; Hart et al., 1997; Gilckman & Scally, 2008; Warren, 1998). The notion of viewing service-users as 'partners' has been used in a range of initiatives, to respond to the 'dynamics of the neighborhood' (Connell et al., 1995), with specific emphasis placed on the involvement of those individuals and communities that are considered as being disadvantaged. Simpson et al. (2003) suggest for local initiatives to become sustainable, community capacity building must start with people and not projects, 'a process that builds on local strengths and promotes community participation and leadership, as well as ownership of both the problems and the solutions' (p.277).

Similarly Schuftan (1996) views empowerment as 'a continuous process than enables people to understand, upgrade and use their capacity to better control and gain power over their own lives' (p.260). Furthermore, the well-established community development approaches of *service delivery*, *capacity building*, *advocacy* and *social mobilization* are concerned with assessing the degree to which they [can] really empower people (Schuftan, 1996). In terms of *service delivery*, community representatives participate in making decisions about the service being delivered; assuring a continuous flow of information between the providers and the end-users of services, enabling the latter to be equal partners in the planning, delivery, management and evaluation of those services

(Schuftan, 1996:261). In *capacity building*, empowering can be promoted by enabling individuals/families/communities/organizations (through information, training and organization) continuously to upgrade their ability to know, analyse and understand their situation and their problems. Broadly this is about investing in human resource development. In *advocacy*, 'empowering' means 'influencing community development-related actions by assuring people's active participation in informed decision-making and by focusing more on what is possible and do-able, and particularly on how it can be done'. Also involved is raising people's consciousness about what their rights are and translating them into specific claims (Schuftan, 1996:263). And finally, in *social mobilization*, 'empowering' means 'networking with others, striving to achieve a critical mass of concerned people (locally and externally), and building coalitions and giving people power over decisions, thus increasing their self-esteem and self-confidence (Schuftan, 1996:264).

Speer et al. observed from their research that the:

'... characteristics of empowering organizations dovetail with ... social cohesion. A focus on participation within organizational and community contexts allows not only for opportunities to enhance empowerment but to support a sense of community or the connections between individuals so that a collective sense of trust, investment, and action can be developed' (Speer et al., 2001:729).

Similarly Glickman and Scally (2008) concluded that through their work in schools community groups have had important effects on the neighbourhoods: they have increased community capacity for change, boosted community participation and power by developing local leaders, and produced more policy efficiency through service integration (Glickman & Scally, 2008:562).

The implications from the literature are:

- empowerment is a highly elusive theoretical concept which allows different meanings and differing expectations to coexist and survive;
- empowerment operates through intrapersonal, interactional and behavioural components;

- empowerment is seen as one of the key leadership tasks in collaborative settings, in the sense of encouraging ownership and participation in the collaborative process;
- in educational settings empowerment has focused primarily on teachers, parents and community members, but also to some extent on students;
- well-established community development approaches of service delivery, capacity building, advocacy and social mobilisation can promote community empowerment.

2.6 Summary

In this chapter, I have reviewed the literature with a focus on four broad areas. These are: social capital; collaboration; leadership; and notions of trust, networks and power in organizations. The literature review highlighted theoretical developments as well as the achievements (and limitations) of previous studies on leadership practice aimed at developing collaborative working between school-parents-community and partner agencies.

From the review of the literature, some of the key ideas which I will use later, in the discussion chapter, are:

- Social capital exists only within a pattern of relationships. Thus, the concept of social capital is a useful lens for understanding the relationships between school leaders, parents, community members and representatives from partner agencies by using key variables such as trust, networking and power.
- There is potential for collaboration among schools, community and partner agencies to build networks and increase social capital. Collaboration requires professional learning. Collaboration has a capacity to transform power relationships between key partners.
- The most important recent development in the organizational leadership and management literature is a shift in focus from the leader to the shared process of leadership, this being accompanied by a move from a concern with the individual traits of leaders to interest in collective ways of participating in leadership.
- Distributed leadership is a dominant discourse in school leadership in England. However, there is a limited evidence of its effective operation in collaborative settings.
- Collaborative leadership can be conceptualised under three broad themes: *leader as learner; leader as collaborator, and leader as supporter.*

- Trust is a multi-faceted term. Trust and reciprocity arise from the activities that create social capital. Trust lubricates cooperation and cooperation itself breeds trust. Trust can be (but not always) transferable from one social setting to another.
- Networks and networking have both positive and negative characteristics. Networks can generate trust between partners and improve the flow of information. Networks can exclude as well as include, and consolidate power as well as share power. Networking can be a form of centralised power and control.
- Understanding the distribution of power within organizations and between key partners is crucial in researching leadership practices in a collaborative context.
- Empowerment is one of the key leadership tasks in collaborative settings, being required to encourage ownership and participation in the collaborative process. Empowerment can be promoted through well-established community development approaches of service delivery, capacity building, advocacy and social mobilization.

In the next chapter I discuss how I address the methodological issues in the present study.

Chapter 3. Methodology: Theoretical Basis

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will discuss the methodology that was developed and employed to respond to the research questions of the study. The chapter starts with a discussion of the philosophical paradigms and key terms used in social research. I then explain and justify the overall research design of this study.

3.1.1 *Clarifying Definitions and Paradigms*

In making sense of data and transforming it into evidence, research draws implicitly or explicitly upon epistemological and ontological assumptions that are often referred to as paradigms. Morrison (2007) argues that 'researchers who adhere to a specific paradigm hold a kind of consensus about what does or should count as "normal" research' (p.19). It is generally acknowledged that a research paradigm includes three dimensions: an ontological perspective, an epistemological perspective and a methodological approach.

In the literature, 'ontology' is defined as 'the study of being and it is concerned with "what is", with the nature of existence, with the structure of reality as such' (Crotty, 1998). There is a distinction among ontological views between those that see reality as fundamentally consisting of matter and those that see it as fundamentally consisting of ideas. This is the contrast between materialism and idealism. There are also epistemological disagreements about whether or not we can get to know the nature of reality understood as independent of our knowledge of it, or whether we can only know subjective experience. This is about whether or not there can be objective knowledge of reality.

Epistemological perspectives are central to research endeavour. Epistemology is defined as 'the study of the nature of knowledge and justification' (Schwandt, 2001) and as 'the

theory of knowledge... a way of understanding and explaining how we know about what we know' (Crotty, 1998). Thus, epistemology is concerned with how knowledge can be possible, what we can and cannot have knowledge of, the nature of truth.

Methodology is seen as the study of the methods used within some field of investigation or as referring to an overall strategy or plan of action for conducting research. For example, Schwandt (2001) defines methodology as 'analysis of the assumptions, principles, and procedures in a particular approach to inquiry' (p.161). Thus, methodology provides justification for the methods of a research project, where methods are seen as 'procedures, tools and techniques' of research (Schwandt, 2001:158).

Hammersley (2006) suggests that the methodological literature of social science draws a crude distinction between methodology-as-technique and methodology-as-philosophy. Methodology-as-technique portrays research as the deployment of particular methods or procedures, those that are taken to be scientific. Hammersley (2006) warns that methodology-as-technique either forgets that doing research necessarily involves assumptions that sometimes require philosophical attention, or it assumes that the relevant philosophical problems have all been satisfactory resolved; in other words, some philosophical view from the past is simply taken for granted, without recognising subsequent challenges to it and their methodological implications (Hammersley, 2006:274). By contrast, methodology-as-philosophy highlights the role of philosophical assumptions in research. This stance shows that philosophy is needed to clarify the value principles that educational researchers use to frame their inquiries; but Hammersley (2006) argues that it cannot provide a value framework to govern social science (p.273).

The key methodological philosophies widely used in educational research and in the social science literature are positivism, interpretivism, and constructivism/constructionism. These are not distinct options that researchers must choose between – most will adopt a

mixture of them (Hammersley, 2007). These philosophies involve assumptions about the world and how it can be understood.

Broadly, positivism can be characterised historically as a way of thinking about knowledge and enquiry that takes natural science, as it developed after the seventeenth century, as the model, and which seeks to apply the scientific method to new fields (Hammersley, 2007). Positivists seek rules that apply uniformly: they extract simple relationships from a complex real world and examine them as if context did not matter and as if social life was stable rather than constantly changing (Rubin & Rubin, 2005; Denzin 1989). The key point about positivist approaches to educational research is their adherence to the scientific method, interpreted in a particular way (Briggs & Coleman, 2007). Rubin and Rubin (2005) state that positivists assume that truth can and should be measured with statistical precision and they reduce complex information to numbers and ignore that which is difficult to quantify; because positivists seek general rules, they often ignore subtleties or unusual cases. Overall, positivists believe that knowledge is based solely on sense impressions, imprinted on human perception by the world.

The philosophical assumptions of positivism are in conflict with those of interpretivism. Interpretivists claim that 'we cannot understand why people do what they do, why particular institutions exist and operate in characteristic ways, without grasping how people interpret and make sense of their world – the distinctive nature of their beliefs, attitudes and so on' (Hammersley, 2007:82). According to the interpretive paradigm, the meaning people attribute to things in the world around them is not only constructed but contingent. This means that the meaning constructed depends heavily on contextual features, or is influenced by the 'cultural arena' (Rubin & Rubin, 2005) – a setting in which people have in common matters such as history, place and culture.

The difference between positivism and interpretivism is in assumptions about the nature of social phenomena and how we can gain knowledge of those phenomena (Hammersley,

2007). The study of phenomena in their natural environment is key to the interpretivist philosophy, together with the acknowledgement that scientists cannot avoid affecting the phenomena they study. Interpretivists admit that there may be many interpretations of reality, but maintain that these interpretations are themselves a part of the scientific knowledge they are pursuing. While positivists tend to use quantitative methods and place reliance on standardized questionnaires and/or experiments, interpretivists reject the assumption that there are relatively standard patterns of causal relationships among social phenomena, and for this reason tend to adopt qualitative methods. Interpretivists argue that 'all research methods involve complex forms of communication: coming to understand other people necessarily relies both on researchers' background cultural knowledge and skills, and on their willingness to suspend prior assumptions and allow understanding of other people's orientations to emerge over the course of enquiry' (Hammersley, 2007:82).

The term 'constructivism' came from psychology and refers to approaches to the study of cognition that reject the idea that this involves a passive registering of, and learned responses to, stimuli (Hammersley, 2007:93). In sociology, use of the word 'constructionism' came to be used to refer to the idea that social world is continually constructed and reconstructed through the use of symbols in the course of human beings interacting with one another (often referred to as *symbolic interactionism*).

Crotty (1998) claims:

'All knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality... is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context'.

The focus of constructionism is on how people make sense of the world and how this shapes their actions. Hammersley (2007) argues that 'this is a broadly interpretivist approach, but there has been increasing emphasis on how different cultures formulate the world symbolically in diverse ways, so that it is sometimes suggested that there are multiple constructed realities rather than a single overarching reality existing behind the different interpretations' (p.93). Constructivists argue that multiple competing perspectives

can always be generated about the same phenomenon. Schwandt (1994) suggests that constructivists think of knowledge as a process, not a product or an essential given to be discovered.

In my study I am working within the interpretive paradigm. This is because I have adopted an exploratory orientation which aims at learning and understanding what is going on in a particular local authority implementing the extended schools programme. I am exploring the perspectives and leadership practices of the professionals from education, health, social services, community and voluntary organizations, seeking to capture their understanding of the extended schools programme and the situations they engage with, how these shape their behaviour, their adaptation to new policy and the strategies they use to implement it.

Another important aspect of interpretivism is adoption of a relatively open-ended mode of data collection which gives me an opportunity to get informants to talk in their own terms about phenomena relevant to the research topic. The extended schools initiative has involved people from a range of organizations and the level of their engagement with the programme varies. Therefore, an open-ended strategy of data collection will help me to gain a deeper understanding of participants' individual perceptions and practices.

I am aware that the interpretivist paradigm has been criticised for a lack in rigour. Yet through the application of a systematic research approach it is said to be possible to maintain a high degree of rigour within interpretivist research (Denscombe, 2002).

In summary, then, I have adopted interpretivist epistemological and ontological assumptions. I believe that by talking to participants, learning about their perceptions, and capturing their understanding of the extended schools programme, I can gain insights into leadership practices within the organizations involved. For this purpose, I will rely primarily upon qualitative research methods.

3.2 Research Design

3.2.1 Qualitative Research

Given that this is a descriptive and exploratory study of a little-researched phenomenon (i.e. leadership in an inter-organizational collaborative context), and its potential variation in contexts across schools, their communities, and partner agencies, I decided that it would be appropriate to adopt a methodology based around a qualitative approach.

Patton (1990) has described qualitative research as:

'an effort to understand situations in their uniqueness as part of a particular context and interactions there. This understanding is an end in itself, so it is not attempting to predict what may happen in the future necessarily, but to understand the nature of that setting – what it means for participants to be in that setting, what their lives are like, what's going on for them, what their meanings are, what the world looks like in that particular setting ... That analysis strives for depth of understanding' (Patton, 1990:1)

Maxwell (2005) suggests that qualitative studies are especially suited for understanding the particular *context* within which the participants act, and the influence that this context has on their actions. Thus, researchers are able to understand how events, actions, and meanings are shaped by the unique circumstances in which these occur (Maxwell, 2005).

I believe that qualitative research fits the current study because it helps me to understand the nature of leadership practices through exploring what people actually do, and how their daily routines are organised in particular contexts. As Hammersley et al. (2001) observe, if researchers wish to understand people's outlooks and experience then they must: 'see them in various situations and in various moods, appreciate the inconsistencies, ambiguities in their behaviour, explore the nature and extent of their interests, understand their relationship among themselves and other groups' (p.53). Thus, qualitative strategies have allowed me to gain an in-depth understanding of what is actually happening in the environment as it is seen on a daily basis through the eyes and articulated by the words of those who are living it; and ultimately to portray this experience for others to understand.

Qualitative research also suits this study because the research process is emergent (Creswell, 2009). This means that the initial plan for research cannot be tightly prescribed, and all phases of the process may change or shift after the researcher enters the field and begins to collect data. The process is more iterative than in other kinds of research. For example, in the current research the participants identified and the sites visited were modified from what was originally planned. Maxwell (2005) points out that 'qualitative research has an inherent openness and flexibility that allows you to modify your design and focus during the research to understand new discoveries and relationships' (p.22).

Qualitative research is also important for this study because it can provide an holistic picture within which the research topic is embedded. This involves reporting multiple perspectives, identifying the many factors involved in a situation, and generally sketching the larger picture that emerges. Qualitative researchers often gather multiple forms of data, such as interviews, observations, and documents, rather than relying on single data sources (Creswell, 2009). Similarly, Merriam (2002) states that qualitative inquiry is *richly descriptive*. Words and pictures rather than numbers are used to convey what the researcher has learnt about a phenomenon. I believe that the qualitative approach is an appropriate strategy which has helped me to understand the values and motivations of the participants, important components of engagement with the extended schools initiatives that cannot easily be quantified.

The literature (e.g. Newman & Benz, 1998) suggests that qualitative and quantitative approaches should not be viewed as polar opposites or dichotomies; rather they represent different ends of a continuum. A study tends to be more qualitative than quantitative, or vice versa. Both quantitative and qualitative forms of research are important and useful. Bryman (2004) conducted a literature review of qualitative research that had been undertaken on leadership. He suggests two ways in which qualitative and quantitative studies did not differ: they both tend to ignore informal leadership, and when qualitative studies relate the behaviour of leaders to outcomes (like morale) within a cross-sectional

design, the findings look strikingly similar in form to quantitative ones. Bryman (2004) argues that 'qualitative research on leadership has greatly enhanced our appreciation of the significance of leaders as makers of meaning, an aspect of leadership that is difficult to gain access to through quantitative investigations' (p.762). Overall, qualitative research has also been very quick to explore new areas of leadership, such as shared leadership, e-leadership, and environmental leadership, and to encourage questioning of what we mean by leadership and how the phenomenon should be investigated (Bryman, 2004).

3.2.2 Case Study

The research strategy adopted for this thesis, then, was a qualitative case study. However, the term 'case study' has no clear standard meaning, it is used in different ways by different commentators. Stake (1995) suggests that case study is 'a strategy of inquiry in which a researcher explores in depth a programme, event, activity, process'(p.444) whilst Merriam (2002) defines it as 'an intensive description and analysis of a phenomenon or social unit such as an individual, group, institution, or community' (p.176). Meanwhile, Gerring (2004) regards the case study as:

'... a research design best defined as an intensive study of a single unit (a relatively bounded phenomenon) where the scholar's aim is to elucidate a larger class of similar phenomenon' (Gerring, 2004:341).

Yin (2003) writes that 'the case study's unique strength is its ability to deal with a full variety of evidence such as documents, artefacts, interviews and observations' (p.8). Cohen et al. (2005) add that one of the case study's strengths is the ability to 'observe effects in real contexts, recognising that context is a powerful determinant of both causes and effects' (p.181). There is overlap, but also some significant differences in these definitions.

Case study research examines a relatively large number of features of each case studied, and how they change in themselves and in their relations to one another over time. By

contrast, most survey research simply classifies cases in terms of whether or not they have a relatively small number of features, or how they measure on scale relating to a relatively small number of variables. Baxter and Jack (2008) argue that 'case study enables the researcher to answer "how" and "why" type questions, while taking into consideration how a phenomenon is influenced by the context within which it is situated' (p.556). By concentrating upon a single phenomenon or entity (the case), the case study seeks to describe the phenomenon in depth, to portray 'what it is like' to be in a particular situation, to catch the close-up reality, to provide a "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) of 'participants' lived experiences of, thoughts about, and feelings for, a situation' (Cohen et al., 2005). Thus, case studies focus on processes rather than outcomes (Gerring, 2007; Silverman, 2005).

Case study is an especially appropriate approach in this study since, as Klenke (2008) argues, in the current turbulent global environment in which leaders operate, 'there is an abundance of concepts and variables that determine leadership style, leader-follower relationships, and so on that are difficult to quantify using experimental or survey methods but can be carefully assessed using case study research' (Klenke, 2008:64).

The literature also identifies different types of case study. Stake (2005) suggests *intrinsic*, *instrumental* and *multiple or collective* forms of case study. A case study is intrinsic when the study is undertaken because one wants a better understanding of a particular case. In an instrumental case study, the case is of secondary interest. It plays a supportive role, and facilitates our understanding of something else. The case is still looked at in-depth, its context scrutinised and its ordinary activities detailed, although with this strategy the data are used to serve some external interest. Stake (2005) claims that there is no hard-and-fast line distinguishing intrinsic from instrumental case study. A case study can be multiple/or collective if a number of cases are studied jointly in order to investigate a phenomenon or population (Stake, 2005:445). Yin (2003) suggests that multiple case

studies can be used to either, '(a) predict similar results (a literal replication) or (b) predict contrasting results but for predictable reasons (a theoretical replication)'(p.47).

My study can best be described as adopting an intrinsic and multiple approach. My initial plan was to investigate two local authorities and to examine deeply the extended schools programme within them. I believed that two cases would provide me with a sense of the variation to be found in how the extended schools programme operates on the ground, what differing leadership practices have been developed between participants, and what conditions affect them. However, subsequently, as a result of practical difficulties, I decided to focus on a single local authority. And I concluded that this enabled me to look at what went on in that authority in more depth than would have been possible if I had been studying two. Despite this change, my study can still be described as a multiple case study because I am focusing on several organizations within the local authority (e.g. schools, partner agencies) to understand the similarities and differences between them. From my review of the literature, it is apparent that the term 'case' is used in a variety of ways, and it is recognized that there can be cases within cases. Thus, at one level the case studied here is the particular local authority in which I collected data, but there are other 'cases' within this, such as schools and partner agencies involved in the collaborative programme of extended schooling.

This research is intrinsic because the intent is to gain a detailed insight into a particular situation in each case. The study focuses on a deep understanding and analysis of the perceptions of respondents from schools, the local authority, health agency, social services, community and voluntary organizations about their role and practices in the implementation of the extended schools programme in the city. Therefore, collectively, the cases help to build a more holistic picture about the leadership decisions and practices in an inter-agency collaborative context.

One of the criticisms of case study research is that findings deriving from it cannot be generalised. The literature suggests a range of different opinions about 'generalisation' from case study. For example, Yin (2003) points out that while generalisability should be considered when working with a case study, it should be looked at through a different lens from that characteristic of survey research. Instead of conducting research in order to generalise to 'populations or universes', a case study allows the researcher to generate 'theoretical propositions' (Yin, 2003:10). In other words, the goal is not to generalise to populations but instead to 'expand and generalise' theories.

Bassey (2001) suggests that case study research can produce 'fuzzy generalisations'. These are statements which make claims about likely trends or tendencies rather than precise (e.g. numerical) generalisations or predictions. He argues that 'a fuzzy generalisation is one that is neither likely to be true in every case, nor likely to be untrue in every case: it is something that *may* be true' (Bassey, 2001:10). Thus, it is important for the researcher who enunciates a fuzzy generalisation to endeavour to explore the conditions under which it may, or may not, be true (Bassey, 2001). A problem of generalisation in educational research, and throughout the social sciences, according to Bassey (2001), is that 'researchers are expected by policy-makers, practitioners and the public at large to make scientific generalisations, but cannot because they cannot identify, define and measure all of the variables that affect the events that they study' (p.7).

According to Flyvbjerg (2006), one can often generalise on the basis of a single case, and the case study may be central to scientific development via generalisation, as a supplement or alternative to other methods. Furthermore, what is important for this study, is that 'formal generalisation is only one of many ways by which people gain and accumulate knowledge' (Flyvbjerg, 2006:227). In addition, he insists that the fact that 'knowledge cannot be formally generalised does not mean that it cannot enter into the collective process of knowledge accumulation in a given field or in a society' (p.227).

Therefore, even a descriptive case study can be a valuable contribution to a process of knowledge creation.

For the purpose of this study, I am seeking to document in some depth what happened in the particular local authority implementing the extended schools programme, with a view to developing descriptions and explanations whose broader validity is subject to assessment by future research.

3.2.3 *Selecting Informants*

A crucial part of case study research is to decide on the method for selecting the participants. In deciding on a sampling method it was important for me to consider what qualities were necessary for the participants of this study to have. Maxwell (2005) emphasises this step as 'essential' (p.87) to the research process. Furthermore, 'even a single case study involves a choice of this case rather than others' (Maxwell, 2005:86) and the parameters that are used to identify the appropriate population are critical for generating adequate and useful data. As Miles and Huberman (1994) comment, choosing the right sampling method 'is crucial for later analysis' (p.27). Qualitative methods texts typically recognise two main types of sampling: probability sampling (such as random sampling) and non-probability sampling.

While working with a list of participants for this study, a non-probability – purposeful sampling – appeared to be the best option for finding participants. To complete the study, it was necessary to identify the key actors in the local authority concerned with the extended schools programme, located at different levels of the system.

Maxwell (2005) describes purposeful sampling as 'a strategy in which particular settings, persons, or activities are selected deliberately in order to provide information that cannot be gotten as well from other choices' (p.88). As Patton (1990) claimed 'the logic and

power of purposeful sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases [...] those cases from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research' (p.169). Because of the nature of the extended schools initiative, and the character of inter-agency collaborative work, it was reasonable to create a purposeful sample. Referring to the research questions of the current study (see Chapter 1, section 1.1.) and to the '*Extended schools: Access to opportunities and services for all. A prospectus*' (DfES, 2005), (see Chapter 1, section 1.2.) I developed guidelines which helped to clarify in detail the characteristics that participants from schools, local authority and partner agencies would need to have in order to be involved in the study. This is in line with Rubin and Rubin's (2005) argument that 'interviewees should be experienced and knowledgeable in the area you are interviewing about' (p.64).

The criteria that I used in selecting participants were as follows:

For the local authority: key actors in the local authority concerned with the extended schools programme and particularly those belonging to an extended services team. Here, informants must be responsible for: (1) the strategic development of the extended schools programme in an area; and (2) linking schools in a cluster of schools and establishing links with partner agencies in the area.

For schools: key actors responsible for the extended schools programme in the schools, and other people involved in daily management of the extended services. The aim was to select informants who could provide information that would cover variation in: school size; school type (i.e. nursery, primary, secondary); school academic attainment, high/low socioeconomic composition; Ofsted rating of school (and school leadership); and the proportion of students entitled to free school meals.

For partner agencies: it was required that participants had engagement with the extended schools programme; and that the organizations for which they worked were located in the same (or close) areas as the schools involved in the study.

The methods of data collection used in this study are appropriate for that of case study methodology. They involved: a document analysis process, interviews and observations.

I believe that the selection criteria described above provided data that helped me to analyse various levels of implementation of the government extended schools policy, and to capture the unique perceptions and practices of the people involved, particularly those in leadership roles.

3.3 Summary

In this chapter I have presented a justification for building this study within the interpretivist paradigm. I also explained and justified the overall research design. Due to the descriptive and exploratory nature of the study, concerned with a new and relatively complex phenomenon of inter-agency collaboration, and owing to the variation among schools and partner agencies, it was appropriate to adopt a qualitative research methodology. Furthermore, qualitative case study strategies allowed me to gain in-depth understanding of what actually was happening in the inter-agency context on a daily basis through the voices of those who are living in it.

The next chapter will outline my fieldwork experience, starting with an explanation of a pilot project and the lessons learnt from it, before going to discuss the main study.

Chapter 4. Methodology: How The Study Was Carried Out

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present the key stages of the research process in the current study. It begins with a description of a pilot study and my reflections on this. Then the main study is described, starting with how the ethical requirements were addressed, obtaining access, identifying key participants and formulating strategies for data collection. This is followed by a brief description of the research settings along with the characteristics of the schools and key organizations involved in this study. Detailed information about how data were collected and analysed is also presented. The chapter ends by outlining criteria for an evaluation of the current study and by indicating the limitations of the gathered data.

4.1.1 Pilot Study

The literature supports the importance of a pilot study. For example, Light et al. (1990) argued that:

'No design is ever so complete that it cannot be improved by a prior, small-scale exploratory study. Pilot studies are almost always worth the time and effort. Carry out a pilot study if any facet of your design needs clarification' (Light et al, 1990:213).

Even though I have adopted a more inductive approach where the design is emergent and the process more iterative, I decided that a pilot study would be of value to explore any issues that might arise in the use of the proposed strategies and methods of data collection such as interviews, observations and document collection.

The primary goal of the pilot study was to test the main method of data collection – interviews designed to learn from informants about the extended schools programme, the

partners involved, and the sort of collaboration taking place that might have implications for formulating the research focus for the main study.

The pilot project was conducted in a local authority in a town in England, and took two months. It was approved by the Open University Human Participants and Material Ethics Committee (HPMEC/08/#423/1, see Appendix 1). I also obtained the clearance of a Criminal Records Bureau (CRB) certificate which gave me permission to visit and conduct research in schools in England, valid for two years.

The selection of the pilot case came about through the support of a fellow student who knew some people in the local authority concerned. In May 2008 I sent an email with the information letter to one of the Extended Services Officers and arranged an appointment to go to the local authority and discuss the study in more detail. I was granted access to that local authority named Olke³.

Olke was a county local authority in England. The population of communities in the county was diverse including middle class and working class families, military families, gypsy and traveller families and also some other ethnic minority communities. The county was divided into five large area-clusters, each of which was the responsibility of an Extended Service Development Officer. Each area-cluster comprised clusters of schools with a Cluster Co-ordinator in charge. The number of schools in each cluster varied from 10 to 18.

The Extended Services Officer, who had overall responsibility for the extended schools project within the authority, selected seven people for interview who had responsibilities for work with parents and community, clusters of schools, early years, and the healthy schools agenda. The main basis used for selection of this group of participants was the letter I sent to the Extended Services Officer with brief information about the focus and

³ Olke is a pseudonym that I have given to the local authority

aims of the study. As I had to travel about three hours to this local authority, all interviews were set up on the same day.

A room in the local authority building was arranged for meeting with selected participants. I had 30 minutes to discuss my study with each of seven participants and to ask questions about their perceptions and involvement in the development and delivery of the extended schools programme in the county. At the end of each interview I explained that this was the pilot phase of data collection and I would like to conduct further in-depth interviews in two local authorities in different parts of England between October 2008 and June 2009. I also encouraged participants' comments on the interview questions guide.

During the pilot study I attended an Extended Services Cluster Coordinators Forum (ESCCF) in this local authority. I was introduced to all participants by the Extended Services Development Officer. There were eight Extended Service Officers from the local authority, and 19 cluster co-ordinators, a representative from the Family Information Service, and two representatives from the Knowledge Information Management Service. I had the opportunity there to make further contacts with cluster co-ordinators. Through an informal conversation with one of the cluster co-ordinators I learnt that coordinators were employed by the schools and line-managed by the schools but directed entirely by the Council. The cluster co-ordinator noted:

'We are a one-man band in the school'. (Extended Services Cluster Co-ordinator, Pilot study, field note).

I also had an opportunity to observe some activities organized for cluster co-ordinators during the ESCC Forum. For example, boards were placed around the room listing the Core Offer of Extended Services (see Chapter 1, section 1.2). Cluster co-ordinators were asked to place successes in the '*What went well*' column and issues that were still causing concern in the '*Even better if*' column. Another sheet was put up for '*Any other issues*'. All cluster co-ordinators (within the geographical area) then selected one idea which was recorded and explained. It was an interesting and useful activity which showed

the level of success, but also the challenges in the development of the extended schools programme in that local authority.

4.1.2 Lessons From the Pilot Study

The pilot study helped me to shape the design of the main study in the following respects:

- The timing and number of participants interviewed in the same day had to be carefully planned to avoid rushing interview questions and creating clashes between interviews.
- It was important to become familiar with the structure of the Extended Services Team (EST) in the local authority and in schools prior to conducting interviews. This helped to avoid confusion about people's roles and responsibilities and their involvement in the extended schools programme. In addition, drawing charts of organizational structure was helpful in understanding the networking within clusters of schools and between schools and partner agencies.
- Before the pilot study I planned to conduct observations of extended schools activities within the schools and observations of meetings in clusters of schools. I learnt from the pilot study that observations of the cluster co-ordinators forum could enrich my understanding and could provide me with a range of examples of extended schools activities on the ground. So, I decided to observe more inter-agency meetings, and to use focus group meetings in the main study to test whether respondents' answers to interview questions reflected their activities.
- It helped me to realise that informal conversations could also enrich my data collection strategy. I tried to write notes in my research diary immediately after the conversation took place (when I was on the way home on the train) to make sure I did not forget any important detail. Therefore, informal conversations were added as a method of data collection in the main study.

- Finally, the contacts established while conducting the pilot project were a step towards gaining access to and building rapport with the local authority, schools and partner agencies for the main study.

4.2 Main Study

4.2.1 Ethical Issues

The literature (e.g. Blaxter et al., 2005; Mason, 2002; Cohen et al., 2005) suggests that it is important to be clear about operating a moral research practice at every stage in the research process. Blaxter et al. (2005) argue that ethical issues arise predominantly with research designs that use qualitative methods of data collection because of the closer relationships between the researcher and researched. Nevertheless, all social research (whether using survey, documents, interviews or computer-mediated communication) gives rise to a range of ethical issues around privacy, informed consent, anonymity, secrecy, being truthful and desirability of the research (Blaxter et al., 2005:158).

In my study ethical dilemmas were likely to emerge with regard to the collection of data, the dissemination of findings, and, in particular, the relationships between myself and each participant. I had to remember that I was a guest in the schools and partner organizations, and inappropriate research actions can make participants feel that their privacy has been invaded, or they may be embarrassed by certain questions, or they may divulge things that they never intended to reveal (Merriam, 2002). Therefore, I was ever aware of the need 'to ethically care for and respect the participants' privacy and well-being' (Merriam, 2002).

Ethical research predominantly involves getting informed consent and providing confidentiality, although, in some cases, they may not be sufficient. Rubin and Rubin (2005) suggest that an informed consent statement should describe the purpose of the

research, provide background on the research, and point out the benefits and possible risks to those involved. However, as Busher and James (2007) argue, gaining informed consent is problematic, not least because of what might be construed by that term. Reasonably informed consent by participants is usually taken to mean that they have understood sufficiently well the purpose, processes and intended outcomes of the research to be able to give consent that reflects their reasoned judgement. Informed consent was sought with each participant in this study (see Appendix 3).

The ethical standards that were applied to this study are based on the British Educational Research Association Ethical Guidelines (2004). Prior to negotiating access to the research setting, as already mentioned above, the project was approved by the Open University Human Participants and Materials Ethics Committee (Ref: HPMEC/08/#423/1, see Appendix 1). It is also important to stress that ethical issues were taken into consideration throughout the duration of the research project: from the time of planning the research design and fieldwork, through negotiating access and analysis, and to writing up.

While seeking participants during the negotiation stage, e-mail correspondence was supported by a letter inviting informed consent and confirming that every effort would be made to guarantee the confidentiality of all data and the anonymity of all participants. Explanatory letters were sent to all participants prior to the interviews, and pre-interview explanations also took place. The participants in the study were volunteers and their involvement was on the condition that complete anonymity was assured. Participants were supplied with information sheets (see Appendix 2) explaining the purpose of the project and their role within it, and they had an opportunity to ask me about any aspect of the research. They were informed about my intention to conduct interviews and observations. All respondents signed two copies of an informed consent form prior to the interview (one copy was for the researcher, the other was for the participant). I asked

permission from interviewees to use a digital recorder and to make notes during the interviews.

As some of the interview questions were geared towards ascertaining participants' views on factors that limited the implementation of the extended schools programme, and this inevitably led to some criticism of government policy, the local authority and partner organizations, confidentiality was an especially crucial factor in this case. My ethical responsibilities here were to manage this situation and to preserve the confidentiality of the individual interviews.

Once granted access to schools to conduct observations, I introduced myself to teachers and/or school staff and explained the reason for my visit and told participants that it was their decision to allow or to refuse me observations of extended services activities in clubs in their schools. In most cases teachers sounded positive and showed a willingness to respond to my questions for the purposes of my research.

The issue of 'risk of harm' as a result of participants' participation was also considered in this research project. The main possible harm seemed to be in affecting the reputation of the participants or the image of schools and organizations. Therefore, the names of schools, local authorities, partner agencies, the city and the names of all participants have been disguised in the final report and care has been taken to withhold any information that could lead to their identification. Furthermore, job roles were used instead of names to ensure anonymity. In addition, participants were given the opportunity to check the accuracy of, and to amend interview transcripts with the aim of trying to ensure there was no risk of harm to them or their organizations.

Even analysing data may present another ethical problem, as deciding what was important, and what should or should not have been presented, was my decision. In this context it is essential that I provide sufficient data to enable readers to draw their own conclusions.

Once the data was collected and analysed, issues associated with its storage needed to be addressed. All recordings were kept on CDs in a secure cabinet in the office and only I was permitted to listen to any of them. Finally, in recognition of the inconvenience caused by the research project and the time participants spent on interviews, recompense consisting of one day's supply teaching was paid to the schools involved in this study.

4.2.2 Obtaining Access

When seeking to gain access researchers must ensure that participation is voluntary and people in the setting are not inconvenienced or harmed (emotionally, psychologically, physically or reputationally) (Daymon & Holloway, 2011). Before starting the research it is important to obtain permission from gatekeepers – people who have the power to grant or withhold access. They control information and grant formal and informal entry to the setting and participants (Daymon & Holloway, 2011:60). However, identifying the relevant gatekeepers is not always straightforward. Knowing who has the power to open up or block off access, or who consider themselves and are considered by others to have the authority to grant or refuse access, is, of course, an important aspect of sociological knowledge about settings (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2006:64).

Given the fact that the operation of the extended school programme varies according to local context, it was necessary to approach officers within local authorities who were responsible for the implementation of the extended schools initiative.

Originally I intended in the main study to research two local authorities located in different geographical areas, each having a different socio-economic composition, and a different number of schools in it. I believed that by comparing and contrasting data from two cases I could gain some detailed information and draw a rounded picture about how the extended schools programme operates on the ground, what conditions affect it, and what

leadership practices have been developed in different contexts. However, Olke local authority, the one in which I had carried out my pilot work, withdrew two months after the main study began because of re-organization of a Children's Services there, and it was not feasible at that point to find another. Moreover, on reflection, I decided that, by focusing on a single authority, I would be able to achieve a deeper understanding of procedures and processes there that would have been possible if I had been studying two authorities.

The eventual selection of the case for the main study was based on my being fortunate enough to gain the agreement of a representative from the local authority Extended Services Team – the Extended Services Remodelling Adviser - who replied to my email and helped in negotiating access to the local authority. This local authority was located in a city named Taffield⁴. Contact was established in August 2008. Firstly I met the Extended Services Remodelling Advisor to discuss my research in more detail. Later I had a short appointment with the Extended Services Strategy Manager in the same local authority. Both participants were enthusiastic about the research project and expressed a willingness to be involved further and to help me with contacts and access to local schools and partner agencies. Following our discussion, the ES Strategy Manager sent an email entitled *'Extended Services Support to Natalia Yakavets'* to the Cluster Co-ordinator with the request to assist me and facilitate access to some schools in his cluster.

I was also invited to attend an Extended Services conference that took place in September in the city where the second local authority was located. This was a great opportunity to get familiar with a variety of extended services activities in local schools and nationally, and to meet representatives from schools and various agencies involved in the delivery of the extended services programme. I tried to establish contact with further potential participants. I met the Extended Services Cluster Co-ordinator at the conference and briefly discussed a list of people I wished to interview for the study. Later, following

⁴ Taffield is a pseudonym that I have given to the city.

our discussion, I received an email with the contact information of representatives from partner agencies and four selected schools. I sent emails to all of them mentioning that I had received their contact details from the ES Cluster Co-ordinator – this was the means of gaining access through gatekeepers for my study.

In selecting participants within the local authority I applied an element of snowball technique (Merriam, 2002) which involved several phases. During the first phase the Extended Services Strategy Manager played an important role in identifying key people and assisting me in getting in touch with a cluster co-ordinator. Next the cluster co-ordinator helped in identifying schools, and then partner agencies, that were involved in the extended schools activities in that cluster of schools, and people within them who could be interviewed. When I had access to the selected schools I was able to approach people who were responsible for the daily management of the extended schools programme.

4.2.3 Participants and Contexts

A multi-site single case study was conducted in this project. In line with Hammersley and Atkinson's discussion (1995), the process of negotiating access to interview participants was not merely a practical issue of whether the researcher was allowed to be physically present at the research sites and to carry out interviews. It was a challenging and ongoing process which lasted throughout the study. Over a period of a month four schools agreed to participate in the study and, after the initial email, phone and a few face-to-face conversations, participants from different partner agencies were recruited. Table 6 below presents all the participants involved in the current study. All the names of the participants and names of schools are pseudonymous.

Table 6 Participants from schools, a local authority and partner organizations

Nº	Participant	Gender	Type of Organization	Code	Years in the current job	Qualification/ experience
1	Headteacher	M	Secondary school	Headteacher Coroniola Secondary School	3	More than 30 years in education
2	Headteacher	F	Nursery School & A big Daisy Children's Centre	Headteacher Daisy Nursery School	11	More than 35 years in education
3	Headteacher	M	Primary School	Headteacher Myosota Primary School	20	Over 37 years in education
4	Assistant Headteacher	M	Secondary School	Assistant headteacher Coroniola Secondary School	3	More than 18 years in education
5	Assistant Headteacher	F	Primary School	Assistant headteacher Myosota Primary School	5	More than 20 years in education
6	Curriculum coordinator (PSCHEE*)	F	Secondary school	Coordinator Coroniola Secondary School	1	More than 8 years in education
7	School Business Manager	M	Secondary School	School Business Manager, secondary Lantana Secondary School	5	Over 26 years in education
8	Art College Manager	M	Secondary School	Art College Manager Lantana Secondary School	5	More than 25 years in education
9	Extended Services Strategy Manager	M	Local authority (strategic level)	ES Manager, LA	3	Over 22 years in community education and youth work
10	Extended Services Remodelling Adviser	M	Local authority (strategic level)	ES Remodelling Adviser, LA	3	Over 36 years in education
11	Extended Services Cluster Co-ordinator	M	Local authority (operational level)	ES Coordinator, LA	2	Over 13 years in sport & leisure
12	Implementation Manager (strategic level)	F	Sure Start & Community Learning	Manager, Sure Start	1	Over 5 years in NHS, 3 years in a local authority
13	Operational Manager (operational level)	F	Children's Centre	Manager, Tyler Children's Centre	1	More than 25 years in community and family work
14	Senior Manager (strategic level)	F	Health	Manager, Health organization	5	Over 35 years in the NHS
15	Deputy Director	M	Council of Voluntary Organization	Senior Manager, Voluntary Organization	5	More than 7 years in community and voluntary work
16	Project Manager	F	Community Safety Partnership	Project Manager, Community organization	2	Several years of work in a Inter-agency environment; managed community based projects
17	Social worker	M	Social service	Social worker, Social service	1	Three years in children services
18	Community Co-ordinator	F	Council of Voluntary Organization	Community Co-ordinator	2	Several years of work in community and voluntary sector
19	Community Development Manager	F	Parish Council	Manger, Parish Council	5	Several years of in community organizations
20	Operational Manager	F	Youth offending team (YOT)	Manager, YOT	5	More than 17 years in youth justice
Observations of cluster of schools meetings took place in the following schools: Red Ginger Primary School and Alfalfa Primary School						
F – Female M – Male * PSCHEE – Personal, Social, Citizenship, Health & Enterprise Education						

The city, schools and partner agencies are briefly described below.

The City

Taffield is an English city that had experienced significant growth both in its population and in its economy over last ten years. Within it, however, there are many communities whose residents had fallen behind in terms of prosperity. According to the local authority's Community Cohesion Strategy and Action Plan 2008-2011, although overall prosperity is improving, concentrations of neighbourhood deprivation are spreading and deepening. The diversity of the Taffield population continues to increase.

There are about 100 schools in the city with more than 37,000 pupils on roll. Most students enrolled in schools are White British (70.1%). The Black African Group is the largest minority ethnic group accounting for 6.5% of pupils. According to the schools census data, there is a higher than average proportion of minority ethnic groups in Nursery and Reception years, accounting for 33% of all pupils. Of those of primary school age 29.3% come from minority ethnic groups, and 22.6% of those of secondary school age come from minority ethnic groups. The city is faced with key contextual challenges relating to low educational attainment, poor health, high rates of teenage pregnancy, plus poor levels of esteem and confidence among young people.

Local Authority

The local authority was undergoing a major internal reorganization at the time of fieldwork. A number of new jobs and roles were introduced. According to the Ofsted (2008) report, the overall effectiveness of the local authority had been judged as inadequate.

The following group of people from the Extended Services Team was involved in this study: an Extended Services Strategy Manager; an Extended Services Remodelling Advisor and two Extended Services Cluster Co-ordinators (the detailed outline of responsibilities of these people and the structure of the local authority and how it was concerned with the extended schools programme will be presented in Chapter 4). It is important to mention that the Sure Start programme worked very closely with the

extended schools team. Sure Start is UK a government initiative applying in England that aims at providing services and information for children from birth to five years old and their families. Those services include: a) integrated early education and childcare; b) support for parents - including advice on parenting, local childcare options and access to specialist services for families; c) child and family health services; d) helping parents back into work - with links to the local Job Centre Plus and training.

Schools

The study was conducted in four schools to capture the particularities of dealing with different school communities. I was interested in the leadership practices in schools of different types (i.e. nursery, primary, and secondary schools), different sizes, and located within different clusters of schools.

Daisy Nursery School and Big Daisy Children's Centre

This was a small nursery school (ages 3-4) with 85 children on the roll. The school was judged to be a 'good school' in a previous Ofsted report (2007) and showed 'outstanding' characteristics according to the latest Ofsted report in February 2010. Many of the families of the children originate from rural Bangladesh. Eleven different languages were spoken by children in the school. In January 2009 the Big Daisy Children's Centre was officially opened on the school site. There were various clubs and training sessions available at the Children's Centre to support children and their families. The headteacher of the Nursery School also managed the Big Daisy Children' Centre.

Myosota Primary School

This large urban primary school served a mobile and diverse community in the most deprived area of the city and provided education for approximately 300 children aged between 4 and 11. Pupils came from a wide range of backgrounds and included immigrants, asylum seekers and a large group of black and black African heritage. A quarter of pupils spoke English as an additional language. The Average Index of Multiple Deprivation⁵ 2008 score for the school is around 50%. The proportion of pupils eligible for free school meals, at over 46%, is well above the national average. The number of pupils with learning difficulties (LDD) and statements of special educational needs (SEN) is average. A significantly large number of pupils arrived or left during the course of each school year. According to the latest Ofsted inspection report (2008) the school was making good progress. The Tyler Children's Centre was opened on the school site in 2007. A variety of services for families with children was provided in the Children's Centre as well as providing consultation space for Health Visitors and Midwives.

Coroniola Secondary School

Coroniola was a larger than average comprehensive school (about 1090 students on the roll, aged 11-18) serving an area of considerable deprivation. The Average Index of Multiple Deprivation 2008 score for the school was about 32%. There was a high level of mobility within the local community. Almost one third of the school's students came from ethnic minority backgrounds. More than one quarter spoke English as an additional language, many of whom were at an early stage of learning English. The proportion of students identified with learning difficulties or disabilities was above average, although the proportion of those with a statement of special educational needs was a little below

⁵ **The Index of Multiple Deprivation** combines a number of indicators, chosen to cover a range of economic, social and housing issues, into a single deprivation score for each small area in England. This allows each area to be ranked relative to one another according to their level of deprivation. For schools the indicators are: Average Key Stage (KS) 2 -KS3 -KS4 points score; pupil absence rate. (Source: <http://www.lasos.org.uk/ViewPage1.aspx?C=Resource&ResourceID=4>)

average. The school was expected to be closed at the end of July and re-opened as an academy in September 2009.

Lantana Secondary School

Lantana was a big comprehensive school with about 2500 students on roll, aged 11-18. The school had specialist art school status. The Average Index of Multiple Deprivation 2008 score by school is about 18%. The proportion of students eligible for free school meals was below average. The proportion of students who speak English as an additional language was similarly below average. Just over 20% of students were from ethnic minority groups. There were a variety of extra-curricular activities in the school. These included a wide range of drama, sporting, musical and cultural activities, as well as charity work. The school provided a range of services for the members of the community. There was a Health Centre with the doctors and all the associated health professionals based on the school campus. There was also a Church based on the campus.

Partner Agencies

Respondents from the following partner organizations participated in the study: a Health agency; a Voluntary organization; a Community Safety Partnership; a Parish Council; Tyler Sure Start Children's Centre; a Youth Offending Team; and a Social Service.

There was a close link between the healthy school programme and the extended schools programme. Broadly, the Government expectation was that schools who were working towards offering extended service should aim to develop into a 'healthy school' at the same time. A 'healthy school' promoted the health and well being of its pupils and staff through a planned, taught curriculum in a physical and emotional environment that promotes learning and health lifestyle choices. The city had been chosen to be one of 20 Family Nurse Partnership (FNP) pilot sites from September 2008. FNP was an 'evidence-

based' programme aimed at improving the health, well-being and self-sufficiency of parents and their children. The FNP team is based at Tyler Children's Centre. The intended benefits to participants included improvements in antenatal health, increased father involvement and children who are more ready for school. Locally, the project had four family nurses who worked closely with midwifery services, GP's, children's centres and other agencies such as children's social care, schools, and third sector partners who have contact with vulnerable young parents.

Taffield Council for Voluntary Organizations (linked to the National CVO) was a local charity that aimed at improving the quality of life by encouraging the development of an involved and active community. It was the umbrella body for over 1,000 voluntary and community sector organizations in the city. These organizations catered for every aspect of life in the city. There were more than 270 registered voluntary groups providing activities for children and young people. The CVO was delivering part of the Children's Fund programme in the city through the Community Co-ordinator Service. A Community Co-ordinator worked with children and families to help them have a voice in decisions that affect them and their communities. Among the projects that were being supported by Community Co-ordinators during the time of the fieldwork were: family trips, craft sessions; discos; breakfast clubs; keep fit classes; developing a skate park; community meetings; sports clubs and activities; gardening workshops.

The Community Safety Partnership (CSP) was made up of several agencies: the fire service, the local police authority, the local council and also the primary care trust and health services. The partnership's aim was to involve young people more in community safety and make them feel safer, whether they were at home, at school or out with their friends. The CSP had a newly formed Young People Safety and Crime Group. The group focused on involving and considering the needs of young people according to three strands: young people as victims; young people at risk of offending; and involvement and engagement of young people in community safety work. The Extended Services Team at

the local authority had been working with the CSP to develop a consultation for all secondary age pupils in the city.

Community and Youth workers in the Parish Council worked with Tyler Children's Centre to support a new mother and toddler group. The Parish Council was involved in summer and Easter play schemes in partnership with the city Play Association as well as running youth clubs across the parish on a weekly basis for children from local schools.

The Youth Offending Team (YOT) was a multi-agency group consisting of Social Workers, Probation Officers, Police Officers and staff with health and education backgrounds. The YOT provided a range of services required by legislation to deal speedily and effectively with young people aged 10-18 who get into trouble. The Team worked closely with the Criminal Courts and a range of crime prevention and children's services.

The Social Care Service provided practical and emotional support to children and their families. During the fieldwork I observed a project that involved a social worker, Lantana secondary school together with some primary schools and the extended services team from the local authority. The aim of the project was to give families early access to help and advice through their school when they needed it.

4.2.4 Data Collection

The challenge with regard to data collection was how to get an insider's view and how to encourage participants to discuss with the researcher what may be sensitive issues about their schools, organizations, communication and relationships. The following methods of data collection were selected:

- document analysis
- semi-structured face-to-face interviews
- observations

Document analysis

Anderson (1998) defines document analysis as the process of reviewing physical artefacts to note the 'presence or absence of information' (p.155). Merriam (2002) points out that physical artefacts can be 'written, oral, visual or cultural', and are typically 'public records, personal documents, and physical materials' (p.13).

The document analysis method was utilised in this study to gain understanding of the extended schools policy, and background information about the local authority, schools and partner agencies before the meetings with participants. This was an initial step in the data collection process. During this stage government papers on the extended schools programme, policy proposals, website information, strategy documents and organizational reports (where available), and partner organizations' web links were collected and analysed. Once participants had agreed to take part in this study, schools' Ofsted reports, as well as the Ofsted report about the local authority and online bulletins were examined in more detail. In addition, I asked participants to choose documents from their organizations that would provide information about the extended services activities in which those organizations were involved. In one secondary school involved in the study, DVDs, CDs, booklets, and newsletters with information about projects and activities were also collected. Upon completion of the document review, notes were made about some key documents and these were put into Nvivo8 qualitative software, so that information gained could be used during the data analysis stage. Document analysis helped me to shape the interview and observation stages of data collection.

Interviews

Interviews are one of the most commonly recognised forms of qualitative research method. Cohen et al. (2005) suggest that interviews enable participants – be they interviewers or interviewees – to discuss their interpretations of the world in which they live, and to express how they regard situations from their own point of view. In these senses the interview is not simply concerned with collecting data about life: it is part of life itself, its human embeddedness is inescapable (p.267). Stake (1995) claims that the qualitative researcher's concern is not simply getting 'yes or no' answers but eliciting descriptions and explanations.

The literature (e.g. Rubin & Rubin, 2005; Denscombe, 1998) outlines different types of research interview depending on the degree of control over questions and answers, and depending on the number of people involved in the interview. For example, Denscombe (1998) distinguishes between structured interviews, semi-structured interviews, unstructured (or open-ended) interviews, and one-to-one interviews, group and focus group interviews.

Structured interviews involve tight control over the format of the questions and answers (Denscombe, 1998). This is the specific, standardized, pre-determined format of questions commonly employed in survey research. The same questions are asked in the same words and in the same order to all interviewees. Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggested that the structured interview is useful 'when the researcher is aware of what he/she does not know and therefore is in a position to frame questions that will supply the knowledge required' (p.269).

By contrast, with the semi-structured interview, the interviewer is prepared to be flexible in terms of the order in which the topics are considered, and, perhaps more significantly, to let the interviewee develop ideas and speak more widely on the issues raised by the

researcher (Denscombe, 1998:113). The limited number of guiding questions provides direction to the interview so that the content focuses on the crucial research issues, while the open-ended aspect of the interview facilitates a more personal and natural response from the participants (Patton, 1990).

In open-ended or unstructured interviews the researcher's role is to be as unintrusive as possible – to start the ball rolling by introducing a theme or topic and then letting the interviewee develop his or her ideas and pursue his or her train of thought (Denscombe, 1998:113). Similarly Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggested that the unstructured interview is useful when the researcher is not aware of what he/she does not know, and therefore, relies on the respondents to tell him/her.

The most common form of structured, semi-structured or unstructured interview is the one-to-one variety, which involves a meeting between one researcher and one informant and this form is the most popular because it is easy to arrange (Denscombe, 1998).

I used one-to-one semi-structured interviews in this study because the general advantage of using this type of interview is that it is open and natural in its approach while also ensuring that the direction of the conversation is controlled to keep a relevant focus (Burns, 2000). Furthermore, a greater length of time tends to be spent with a participant than in structured interviews, which helps to build up trust and rapport with the researcher. The participant's perspective is provided rather than the imposed perspective of the researcher (Burns, 2000). At the same time, I developed an interview guide which helped direct the interview so I had a link with my specific research questions (see Appendix 4).

In most cases I went and met with participants in their offices and/or in schools. However, some interviewees preferred to meet off site. Twenty individual interviews were conducted. The length of each interview varied from 35 minutes to 1 hour 15 minutes. Before conducting interviews, I briefly summarised the aims of the research project and

the benefits for the participants involved in the study, as well as the benefits for practitioners and policy-makers in England and other countries. I also addressed the ethical requirements (see above). I asked permission to record the interviews. There was only one case out of 20 participants when a respondent from a school did not want to be recorded. I respected that decision and was obliged to take notes. After typing up the notes I came back to that participant and asked for these to be checked.

All respondents were asked if they would like to have a recording of the interview on their computers. Some of them expressed interest and, after the interview was over, the file from the digital recorder was uploaded onto their computers. In addition, I promised to send a summary of the final report to all participants as soon as it was completed.

When the interviews were transcribed, the typed text was provided to each participant to check the accuracy of the document and his/her responses as well as to provide the opportunity to clarify some issues on any topic of discussion.

A follow-up phase of interview was completed with each of the participants over the phone or via e-mail, and in some cases I met with respondents again. The follow-up questions were based on field notes taken during observations, and on some questions where more clarification was needed of comments that the interviewees had made. As Rubin and Rubin (2005) suggest, 'follow-up questions are crucial for obtaining depth and detail, and can help in obtaining more nuanced answers' (p.136). In addition, I used probes – techniques to keep a discussion going while providing clarification. 'Probes ask the interviewee to keep talking on the matter at hand, to complete an idea, fill in a missing piece, or request clarification of what was said' (Rubin & Rubin, 2005:137). The follow-up interview was much shorter and allowed for in-depth insights into a specific topic that each participant had already raised. Each telephone interview lasted between 10 and 20 minutes, and a few face-to-face meetings lasted between 20 and 30 minutes and again

simply clarified many of the statements made in the previous interview. The notes from follow-up questions were transcribed and analysed as with the first interviews.

As can be seen from Appendix 4, the interview guides were tailored to each organization (e.g. the local authority, a school and partner agency) and the position of the participants. Nevertheless, there were key themes around which the interview questions were built:

- Perceptions of participants on the UK government extended schools programme: philosophy, challenges, benefits
- The role of participants in schools, parents, community and partner agencies collaboration: what works (benefits) and what does not (barriers)
- Participants' involvement in an inter-agency partnership
- Participants' perceptions of leadership practices
- Participants' views about the role of networking
- Participants' views on building trusting relations and balancing power issues.

It is important to mention that I had informal conversations with participants in this study before and after the formal interviews. As these conversations were not tape recorded and did not follow any formal protocol, I wrote down the notes in the researcher diary later the same day. I also had some informal talks with students and teachers during observations of clubs in schools.

Observations

Bush (2007) argues that observations can be significant for studies of leadership and management issues (p.95). Maxwell (2005) suggests that observation is particularly important for getting at tacit understandings and 'theory-in-use' (Argyris & Schön, 1974) as well as 'aspects of the participants' perspectives that they are reluctant to directly state in interviews' (p.94). Observation as a data-gathering technique has a number of strengths. Merriam (2002) argues that an 'observational approach represents a firsthand

encounter with the phenomenon of interest rather than a second hand account obtained in an interview' (p.12). Cohen et al. (2005) suggest that 'because case study observation takes place over an extended period of time, researchers can develop more intimate and informal relationships with those they are observing, generally in more natural environments than those in which experiments and surveys are conducted' (p.188). Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) emphasise that even studies that rely mainly on interviewing as a data collection technique employ observation to note body language and other gestural cues that lend meaning to the words of persons being interviewed. Similarly Mason (2002) comments that knowledge generated through high quality observation is usually rich, rounded, local and specific.

Before gaining access to schools and partner agencies to observe staff meetings and inter-agency focus group meetings I had to negotiate my entry with key gatekeepers: a cluster co-ordinator, a headteacher and/or a key person from a partner agency who was organizing particular meetings. I also presented a letter of research approval from the Open University and my CRB certificate to make sure they did not have any doubts about my research intentions. The 'gatekeepers' informed the staff and/or participants of a meeting with the researcher from the Open University and provided a brief information about my project. When I gained approval from 'gatekeepers' I attended meetings where I introduced myself and guaranteed to maintain confidentiality and anonymity of participants, and not disclose personal characteristics that could allow others to guess the identities of people who played a role in the research. I also asked participants for permission to make notes and reassured them that I would not use any audio recording devices during the meeting.

Observations helped me in this study to gain a sense of people's roles in different settings and to understand how their words reflected their daily practices and acts.

The observations in this study consisted of:

- A tour around the organization/school where the interviewee worked (with the aim of developing a view about available facilities and services) ;
- Observation of staff meetings in schools;
- Observation of the extended services activities (i.e. clubs) in schools involved in the research;
- Observation of meetings of clusters of schools;
- Shadowing observation of an extended service cluster co-ordinator's meetings with headteachers and/or members of school staff responsible for the extended schools programme. The cluster meetings were usually hosted in one school from the cluster.
- Observations of inter-agency focus-group meetings.

I was given a tour of the school building (and in two schools also around the school campus) in order to understand:

- What kind of extended services activities are provided;
- Who runs the activities (i.e. a partner organization; community members; parents volunteers);
- How many children participate in the activities and;
- What roles teachers (and/or other staff) play.

I used this opportunity to actively participate in informal conversations and ask questions about activities: who was involved in the smooth running of activities on a daily basis, what was the role of the headteacher and other staff members; and I also asked children about clubs in the schools.

In all the schools involved in the study I also had the chance to observe the school reception area and get familiar with information displayed on the notice board for parents,

carers and children about school policy, clubs and events. Some schools had high quality production and informative booklets and leaflets for children, parents and the community about events at the school. There were also some leaflets from other organizations like, for example, Children's Centres, the Health agency, the Parish Council and voluntary organizations. In one secondary school, there was a big notice-board near the reception building which included posters, notices, newsletters, timetables of clubs with all the information being available for children, parents and the community. In the other secondary school, there were a few places around the school for displaying information with many booklets and leaflets being available to take away and disseminate to the wider community about clubs, sports and leisure activities in the school.

These observations were carried out at each site, so I could observe the 'relevant behaviours and environmental conditions' (Yin, 2003:92). They involved going to three schools (primary and two secondary) from Monday to Friday (8am – 4pm) for a week in each school. I also spent a couple of days in a nursery school. I focused on specific areas of the schools such as the staff rooms, clubs for children, and meeting rooms for training and consultation sessions for parents and members of the local communities, where, I believed, there was more chance to observe leadership activities related to the extended schools programme.

I was invited to attend the official opening of the Big Daisy Children's Centre and celebration of the birthday of the Tyler Children's Centre, to which were invited representatives from partner agencies, local schools, officials from the local authority, health organizations and others. These were excellent opportunities for informal conversations with the representatives from the local authority, schools, staff of the Children's Centre, and parents and member of the community. These informal conversations helped to gain insights into the role Children's Centres were playing in the life of the local community, and how it linked to the extended schools programme, and which organizations supported them. Immediately after each observation I wrote up

detailed notes in the research diary about activities observed and/or comments, remarks and discussion by participants.

During observations and informal conversations I tried to make a personal commitment to protecting the identities of the people I observed and with whom I interacted, even informally. I believe that maintaining confidentiality means ensuring that particular individuals can never be linked to the data they provided. As I explained above (see Section 4.2.1.) I did not record identifying information such as names and addresses of participants I met during observations of meeting in schools, the local authority and partner agencies. I developed a code list for myself that was kept in a separate, secured computer file. I also took great care not only in entering observation data into field notes but also when talking with other people in the community and in my university. I tried to make sure that confidentiality had been respected during presentation of the data in this work and as well in printed publications.

4.2.5 Data Analysis

'Good' data analysis and 'good' theory, regardless of whether the evidence is from qualitative or quantitative sources, requires sensitivity to what the data are saying, to be able to ask sensible and intuitive questions of the data in the first place (Bazeley, 1999:285).

Data analysis in qualitative research is increasingly diverse, complex and nuanced. Eisenhardt (2002) argues that the process of building theory from case study research is a strikingly iterative one. While an investigator may focus on one part of the process at a time, the process itself involves constant interaction backward and forward between steps. Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest that 'although the process of categorizing and coding data is presented as sequential, it is important to recognise that it is not a linear process of simply moving from one phase to the next. Instead it is a more recursive process, where

movement is back and forth as needed, throughout the phases' (p.87). It is also a process that develops over time (Ely et al., 1997) and should not be rushed. The strength of theory building from cases is its likelihood of generating novel theory (Eisenhardt, 2002:29).

It is important to mention that qualitative analysis does not need to exclude deductive reasoning (Patton, 2002). Generating concept or variables from theory or previous studies is also very useful for qualitative research, especially at the inception of data analysis (Berg, 2001).

The literature (e.g. Braun & Clarke, 2006; Holloway & Toders, 2003; Hammersley et al., 2001) suggests that thematic analysis is one of the most commonly used methods of qualitative data analysis. As the name implies, thematic analysis is the search for themes of relevance to the research topic under which reasonably large amounts of data from different sources – observations, interviews and documents – can be organised (Hammersley et al., 2001). One of the benefits of thematic analysis is its flexibility. Furthermore, thematic analysis is not linked to any pre-existing theoretical frameworks, so it can be used within different theoretical perspectives (Braun & Clarke, 2006:81).

In this research project for the data analysis I used a thematic approach in categorising the data collected through documents, interviews, observations, and informal conversations. It is important to mention that some of the phases of thematic analysis are similar to the phases of other qualitative research, so these stages are not necessarily all unique to thematic analysis.

I listened to the taped interviews multiple times to ensure that the transcribed notes were correct. This process allowed me not only to ensure that data had been transcribed correctly, but also helped me in familiarising myself with the data, and with generating ideas for the coding stage.

I generated an initial list of ideas about issues and ideas emerging from the data, and I began the next phase of generating the initial codes. Maxwell (2005) suggests that the main categorising strategy in qualitative research is coding. 'Coding' generally means attributing segments of data to categories. Furthermore, often categories are developed at the same time as data is coded. Coding or identifying a feature of the data, depends on 'whether the themes are more "data-driven" or "theory-driven" – in the former, the themes depend on the data, in the latter, it is possible to approach the data with specific questions that someone wishes to code around' (Braun & Clarke, 2006:89). Furthermore, Braun and Clarke (2006) argue that researchers cannot free themselves from their theoretical and epistemological commitments, and data are not coded in an epistemological vacuum.

I used thematic analysis because, as Hammersley et al. (2001) point out, the themes may capture the preoccupations of the people studied, recurrent features of their behaviour, key policy issues and so on. In the process of generating initial codes, some of the themes were gained from the literature such as: collaborative leadership (e.g. Chrislip & Larson, 1994); collaboration, partnership (Huxham & Vangen, 2005); social capital (Coleman, 2000); others were derived from the data. In my study I used thematic analysis involving a balance between inductive coding (themes emerging from participants' discussions) and deductive coding (derived from existing theory). Therefore, the data analysis process of this research was both inductive and/or hypothetico-deductive. In addition, the thematic approach helped to link data gathered from observations and document analysis with that from interviews, and provided substantial evidence that helped to answer the research questions.

The coding process in this study was implemented at a number of levels in order to understand more deeply the spoken words of participants – both in terms of the discourses informing what they said and to document what was actually happening. The initial level of analysis was 'open' coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), the preliminary process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualising and categorising data

(Glaser & Strauss, 1967:24). In this research the large group of texts were broken up into 'chunks' (Miles & Huberman, 1994:56) and that helped to develop groups of codes. It included linking the analytical categories to groups of codes. On the basis of this, I read my data and developed categories, for example, 'extended schools features', 'collaboration', 'partnership', 'leadership practices', 'communication' and so on. Open coding involved 'data reduction' through inductive analysis.

The second level of analysis that took place in the current study was 'axial' coding (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Axial coding is the process by which the major themes or 'building blocks' that are systematically created through the open-coding process are broken down into subcategories (Strauss & Corbin, 1998:123). The data were re-assembled in new ways after open coding, by making connections between categories, thus moving from inductive to deductive analysis. This allowed me to look into the meaning of the text under the building blocks and then further break them down, and develop more specific labels. The reason for pulling out the larger categories is to 'fracture' (Strauss, 1987:29) the 'data and rearrange them into categories that facilitate comparison between things in the same category and that aid in the development of theoretical concepts' (Maxwell, 2005:96). Axial coding consists of taking categories and identifying a) the conditions that give rise to the phenomena; b) contexts in which these are embedded; c) interaction strategies through which they are managed; and d) consequences of those strategies. This level of analysis helped me to look into the meaning of the data in groups of codes and then further break them down, and some initial codes formed main themes like, for example, 'barriers to collaboration', 'partnership' - 'networking', 'community involvement' and so on. I tried to combine extracts from interviews, observations, documents and informal conversations where these related to the same topics. By comparing and contrasting the overall themes presented in the data a conceptual framework began to appear about what leadership practices actually look like in the inter-agency collaborative context.

The third phase in the coding process was 'selective' coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). This phase includes selecting the core category, systematically relating it to other categories, and filling in categories that need further refinement and development (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This stage of analysis helped me organise codes so that a framework could be drawn out from categories that were created during 'open' and 'axial' stages. Through this phase important themes and categories were identified and analysed. As soon as a key theme began to form in the main categories I picked out the extracts that best illustrated it, in order 'to support the newly created ideas and understandings' (Strauss & Corbin, 1998:161) from the various data sources (e.g. schools, local authority, partner agencies). Through this process important themes and categories were filled out and analysed until saturation of the coding occurred. Then I tried to develop a coherent story by examining participants' interaction and presenting different views on specific issues.

I used NVivo8, a software programme specifically design for analysis of qualitative data and for allocating the data into the various categories and sub-categories. This involved creating nodes and tree nodes. A node is defined as 'a collection of references about a specific theme, place, person or other area of interest' (Bryman, 2005:572). When a document (or transcript) had been coded, the node had incorporated references to those portions of documents in which the code had appeared. There are also tree nodes, whereby nodes are held in a treelike structure, implying connections between them (Bryman, 2005). To reflect on the data analysis experience, it is possible to state that by using NVivo8 I was able to give more time to analysing categories from the data and discovering themes, to maintaining links between different elements of leadership practices by comparing and contrasting the responses of participants, and to linking those conclusions to the data from observations of participants' behaviour during the meetings.

4.3 Strategies for Maximising and Checking Validity

Validity and reliability of the data must be considered when presenting research. Concepts such as internal and external validity and reliability were originally developed for use in positivist, or quantitative research. Hammersley (1992) suggests that the same criteria apply to both quantitative and qualitative research. The researcher is always engaging in representations or constructions of that world. I agree with Hammersley (1992) that 'we must judge the validity of claims [about truth] on the basis of the adequacy of the evidence offered in support of them' (p.69). This means that an account can be held to be 'valid or true if it represents accurately those features of the phenomena that it is intended to describe, explain or theorise' (Hammersley, 1992:69). I acknowledge the fact that people's perceptions of the world and consequently the knowledge constructed about it reflect factors characterising their particular point of view.

Merriam (2002) suggests that the qualitative approach establishes credibility through the researcher's presence, the nature of the interaction between researcher and participants, the triangulation of data, the interpretation of perceptions, and rich description.

Triangulation is a validity procedure where researchers search for convergence among multiple and different sources of information to form themes or categories in a study (Creswell & Miller, 2000:126). Yin (2003) suggests triangulation adds strength to the case study approach and should be utilized by anyone who is involved in this practice. Hammersley et al. (2001) claim that the major means of validating accounts and observations in qualitative work is through triangulation, where the use of several methods to explore an issue greatly increases the chances of accuracy.

Triangulation helps to establish validity for the final results which is a necessary part of any study. In this study triangulation was used to build the data collection methodology. I

implemented methods and source triangulation (Yin, 2003). Methods triangulation or triangulation of data generation instruments was achieved by collecting data through documents analysis, interviews, observations, and informal conversations. Source triangulation was achieved by obtaining data from participants in schools, the local authority and partner agencies. While each data collection method was implemented for specific purposes and is, in itself important to the study, each method overlapped, ultimately providing insight, and highlighting ideas, themes and questions for the next step.

One of the validity procedures I established in this study was a '*peer debriefing*'. This is the review of the data and research process by someone who is familiar with the research or phenomenon being explored. I discussed this study and the guidelines for interview questions with fellow doctoral students who had an interest in qualitative research and educational leadership. Questions and comments from peers were encouraged and seriously considered. I also discussed emerging issues and research design with my dissertation supervisors.

I also used the method of *member checking*. This shifts the validity procedure from researchers to participants in the study (Creswell & Miller, 2000). Lincoln and Guba (1985) described member checks as 'the most crucial technique for establishing credibility' (p.314) in a study. I chose to accomplish member checking or informal feedback by contacting the participants through email and by phone in order to e-mail transcriptions of the initial interviews. Each participant had the opportunity to check each transcription to ensure that all answers were correct. If the participants agreed that the transcriptions were correct, I concluded that I could use this information in my writings. Only in one case did a participant from a school make some amendments to the transcribed text. One could argue that 'member checking' does not guarantee the validity of the information as what participants said could have been misleading for a variety of reasons. Nevertheless, I

believe that it confirms the accuracy of transcriptions and the correctness of words of informants.

The literature on qualitative research provides the concept of '*thick description*' (Geertz, 1973) for establishing credibility in a study by describing the setting, the participants, and the themes of the study in rich detail. There is a debate in the literature that the term '*thick description*' is confusing and not well understood (e.g. Ponterotto, 2006). Thick description refers to the researcher's task of both describing and interpreting observed social action and behaviour within its particular context. Furthermore, thick description captures the thoughts and feelings of participants as well as the often complex web of relationships among them. Thick description leads to thick interpretation, which in turn leads to thick meaning of the research findings for the researchers and participants themselves, and for the report's intended readership (Ponterotto, 2006:542).

While presenting data I tried to provide as much detail as possible, for example, describing an interaction between headteachers during a cluster of schools meeting. Furthermore, as part of the data analysis, I have tried to present long quotations of data as much as possible.

Finally, a form of practice that applied in this study is '*researcher reflexivity*'. This is the process whereby researchers report on personal beliefs, values, and biases that may shape their inquiry (Creswell & Miller, 2000:127). I have written a separate section in the Conclusion chapter entitled 'Reflection on My Intellectual Journey'.

It is important to state that researcher bias is a serious threat to validity in qualitative research. Miles and Huberman (1994) identified two sources of research bias: (a) the effect of the researcher on the participant(s) (i.e., Bias A); and (b) the effect of the participant(s) on the researcher (i.e., Bias B). Equally important is the effect of the researcher's preconceptions and preferences (Hammersley et al., 2001). These biases

may become pervasive at any stage of the research process. According to Miles and Huberman (1994) Bias A can lead to informants implicitly or explicitly boycotting the researcher when researcher disrupts or poses a threat to the existing social or institutional relationships. On the other hand, Bias B can lead to the researcher 'going native' (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007:242; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). In this study I used the following strategies suggested by Miles and Huberman (1994) to avoid and reduce bias: for Bias A: making my research intentions clear; being careful not to exacerbate any potential problems to informants; building rapport. For Bias B, I tried to apply the following strategies: avoiding going native by spending time away from the site; asking participants to provide background and historical information, and triangulating data.

4.4 Limitations of the Study

A number of caveats need to be made regarding the present study. The complexity of researching across schools, community and partner agencies must be acknowledged.

I conducted the fieldwork over a period of ten months including negotiating access. I felt that applying tenets of case study methodology was appropriate for investigating leadership practices in extended schools. The voices of participants in this study were not meant to be quantified, but to be heard. The data that were collected from the participants were based on the experience and understanding of twenty people. Thus, the relatively small size of the sample clearly limits the claims that can be made on the basis of the research findings. The key limitation of the present study is the lack of the voices of children, their parents and community members. Future research could therefore go further and look at the full range of participants in schools in order to gain a wider view of the leadership practices that the headteachers are implementing. Speaking to staff members, children, parents and community members about the headteachers' actions and activities available in schools would provide more information about what is actually happening in extended schools. Thus, it would triangulate the gathered data against other perspectives.

Another limitation of this study relates to a strict timeframe that does not allow for collection of data from many schools. As it is stated earlier in this chapter, initially I was planning to conduct a research project in two local authorities in England. However, the first local authority (Olke) withdrew two months after the main study began because of re-organization of the Children's Services there. In general, it was a difficult time and people were anxious about their jobs and did not sound really enthusiastic about being involved in the research project on extended schools. While there is not much I could have done to avoid this, I did feel that this experience helped me to understand the need to be flexible in finishing the data collection process.

Nevertheless, I do believe that it is possible to draw naturalistic generalisations (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Yin, 2003) from my study. I acknowledge that involving more schools from different socio-economic settings may have provided broader insights into perceptions of the extended schools programme and leadership practice. However, the present study has highlighted important issues that might be found in other extended schools in different settings in England.

Lastly, a lack of clarity about the researcher's role in the setting might have exacerbated some difficulties in doing the empirical work. I come from one of the former Soviet countries, where I completed my first degree in Russian. While my postgraduate studies were completed in English in the UK, I have never lived or worked for an extensive period of time in the UK. In a sense my role of 'the outsider' in the English educational context helped me to avoid going completely native (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995; Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007). While I had tried to make clear the aims of my study through information letters and a brief introduction prior to the interviews, some participants saw me as a visiting student, who had come to the UK to learn about the education system and recent education reforms in England. Therefore, in some cases participants wanted to provide me with more detailed information than necessary, for example, about accountability mechanisms, types of schools, and so on, when they were replying to my interview questions.

Despite all the limitations listed above, I believe the data presented in this thesis provide a detailed picture of what was going on in the extended schools programme in terms of leadership practice and activities organised for children, their parents and the community members, at least in one geographical area. Therefore, the obstacles I experienced during the fieldwork did not diminish the quality of the research process and findings of this study in general.

In the next two chapters, the data gathered through interviews, observations and documentary analysis will be presented and analysed.

Chapter 5. Analysis of the Data: Insights Into the Extended Schools Programme

5.1 Introduction

The following chapter discusses the findings from interviews, observations and relevant documentary material from schools, partner agencies, and the local authority about participants' perceptions of the extended schools programme. It begins by analysing data related to understanding the extended schools programme, management structures that were set up in the local authority and in schools, characteristics of new roles and responsibilities and views on accountability issues between partners. It then presents some practical examples of extended services activities offered in schools involved in this study. Finally, the chapter gives details of participants' views about the effectiveness of the extended schools programme.

5.2 Extended Schools, Extended Services: What is it About?

Participants highlighted a number of benefits that the extended services activities could bring for children, schools, the community and partner agencies. A respondent from one of the schools commented:

'...extended schools are open-minded, they want to make the best of the opportunities for the children and parents in that community...It is as important to me as the early intervention agenda. If you don't get into families early you are not going to improve the life chances. I think extended schools improve life chances as well'. (Headteacher, Myosota primary school).

One aspect of this that was often mentioned was that students were offered a much broader range of skills and interests:

'In terms of philosophy, the extended schools initiative is a part of the raising standards agenda because if students are coming and getting coaching before school (we have basketball coaching, we have football coaching before school), if they are then getting a healthy breakfast, then they are going to be in a better frame of mind to start their learning at the beginning of the day. It helps with things like self-esteem, they start to

become a little bit more confident, when that happens we tend to see things like attendance improving, we start to see attitude improving and so on'. (Headteacher, Coroniola secondary school)

Participants commented that the traditional view about schooling has shifted dramatically over the last decade. Schools have become more than a place of teaching and learning of children - schools have 'extended' their internal capacity and facilities wider for parents and the community:

'...the extended schools programme is about approaching the child holistically and trying to have an influence upon the whole child and not just the child in lessons, it is about putting schools at the heart of the community and making them open, accessible places, particularly out of school hours, but actually opening them up to parents, especially during the school day. It is not just about the services, it is about attitudes and beliefs and ways of working as well' (School Business Manager, Lantana secondary school)

The quote above suggests that the implementation of the extended schools programme requires professionals on the ground to work in new ways.

Respondents from schools saw the extended schools initiative as a way of being able to draw on extra expertise from health, social service, youth, community and voluntary organizations, and other agencies, and bringing them into the school and opening up lots of opportunities for children and their parents, and helping to change their negative attitude towards schooling.

'Well we have lots of experts out there, so for example with the sexual health we've got the backing of Brook...With careers we've got the backing of Connexions'. (Curriculum Co-ordinator, Coroniola secondary school)

Participants from partner agencies saw a school as a 'hub' of the community or service base where services provided by different agencies were meant to be integrated in a 'one-stop shop' model in which childcare, family support, health, social and other services are smoothly available to children and families near to where they live:

'...It's an opportunity to access resources, so rather than schools being an organization, an agency building primarily and solely for the education of children within a narrower academic sense, it's seen as being meeting wider community needs, and meeting the needs of families, in a way, as opposed to just the need of a child. It's slightly more of a holistic approach to seeing them'. (Manager, YOT)

Another opinion about the extended schools programme was expressed in relation to facilities that schools could offer:

'...I think it's largely around the better use of school facilities. [...] Schools have good and well resourced facilities, they would argue with that, but my view is that they do have all the resource and facilities, but they are not used by the wider community'. (Manager, Health agency)

As can be seen from the data presented above, while respondents from partner agencies saw what school could give, respondents from schools were interested in what partners could bring to the schools, children and the community. Overall, participants from schools and partner agencies saw the common aim as working together for the benefits of children, their families, and the wider community.

While speaking about the extended schools programme, respondents saw it as a vehicle for the implementation of the 'Every Child Matters' agenda. Furthermore, some participants from partner agencies believed that ECM was a uniting mechanism for all agencies to work together. They described the extended schools programme as 'the opportunities agenda' and as being connected with the government's policy of providing a route out of social and economic exclusion by ensuring schools were open during the hours that parents might need to work. However, it was also stated that the extended schools programme was not a 'baby-sitting service':

'...we need to get the whole family involved because otherwise the extended services agenda is just seen as almost a baby-sitting service in that the parents can drop their children at 8 o'clock in the morning and collect them again at 6 o'clock at night. To me that is not the aim of the extended schools'. (Manager, Parish Council)

This quote points to the tension within the extended schools initiative between different views of some of the professionals and suggests the importance of getting parents more closely involved in their children's education and that consequently will help to generate more human and social capital in children.

The data showed that some schools in the city had a long history of having worked closely with families, the community and partner agencies even before the extended services programme appeared. A respondent from Lantana secondary school commented:

'So we have had community access to our facilities for many years. We have delivered learning for the family and the whole community, we have worked with the community to try to meet local needs.' (School Business Manager, Lantana secondary school)

Schools that had previously experienced inter-agency work had established good links with the local community and partner agencies and those schools seemed to be more positive about the extended schools programme and more engaged with it:

'I think for us this has grown organically really out of something we had started spontaneously to do... It is quite a natural development for us, and we do not find it threatening or onerous, we feel quite positive about it, we can see the benefits of it' (Headteacher, Daisy nursery school)

However, this view might not have been shared by teachers and other staff in the school.

The data reveal that not all schools were fully engaged with the extended services programme in city at the time of field work and some schools were resistant:

'There are still plenty of schools who do not want to know about the extended schools agenda... We have chosen because we believe it's made a difference to standards. It's raising children academically. To me it is important...' (Headteacher, Myosota primary school)

According to the official information from the local authority 87% of the schools in the city were delivering the full Core Offer of extended services in October 2008. Respondents claimed that they were aware of the government's expectation that schools have to provide extended services by 2010. The informants from the local authority stated that they did not want to put pressure on schools and rush them but at the same time it was claimed that there was strong pressure coming from inspection reports:

'...so we don't want to rush them, and we don't rush them to do it wrong, but we have to be engaged in it at the right pace with them, and at the right time' (ES Manager, LA)

Participants acknowledged that there was no blueprint for the extended schools activities as it could be different in each area according to the needs of individual schools and local communities:

'In [Taffield] each school may do it very differently and it depends on I suppose the willingness of the staff and time' (Manager, Sure Start)

From the data presented above it is possible to conclude that the extended schools initiative was seen by many of the professionals involved as an early intervention and

opportunities programme that aimed at the improvement of life chances and wellbeing of children, their parents and the wider community. Overall, the extended schools programme was not seen as entirely 'new' initiative but it required new working practices to be developed in schools and partner agencies.

The next section will describe the management structures that had been developed to support the implementation of the extended services programme on the ground.

5.3 Roles and Responsibilities Associated with Leadership and Management of the Extended Schools Programme

New structures, new roles

This section describes the extended services management structures which have been developed at the local authority level and in schools to support the extended service initiative. The evidence from the study highlights the clustering system and the role of a lead headteacher within a cluster of schools. Following this is a presentation of the management structure of extended services that was set up in each school involved in the case study.

The majority of participants acknowledged the importance of establishing strong leadership and management structures to drive the extended services developments forward. It was stated that the local authority's Children's Service was undergoing a major internal reorganization in the last two years which had resulted in a big turnover of staff, and new structures were being embedded in the city:

'... So we have lost in a sense some ground, some knowledge, some expertise, some supporters, I guess. And we [*the extended team*] are busy building new relationships and new understandings related to the new vision of the new leader and I cannot comment on that – that is still working its way through' (ES Remodeling Adviser LA)

This quote suggests that the Government educational initiatives apart from the structural changes also affected how, and how effectively, the new arrangements could be set up in regard to new vision and leadership. The majority of respondents felt that a 'new' leadership was required at different levels of the system – in the local authority and in schools.

In spring 2008 Taffield Children's Trust was formally launched. It was a partnership between local organizations which provided services for children, young people and families, schools, the NHS, the Learning and Skills Council, police and voluntary agencies. Due to turbulence in the local authority at the time of the field work, a detailed version of the organizational chart there was not available. Therefore, based on the data from interviews with representatives from the local authority I developed a chart entitled 'Extended Services Management Structure' at the local authority (see Figure 1). The chart was sent back to the Extended Services Strategy Manager who commented on some exact links between key actors within the Extended Services Team. This chart represents how 'it is supposed to run' rather than how it was actually run in practice.

The Extended Services Strategy Manager stressed that the infrastructure to support the extended schools programme in the city had been developed only in the last year:

'About a year or so ago I would have worried that we didn't have the infrastructure to support it, because we didn't have the bodies on the ground, but now I'm quite happy with the roll-out of that...' (ES Strategy Manager, LA)

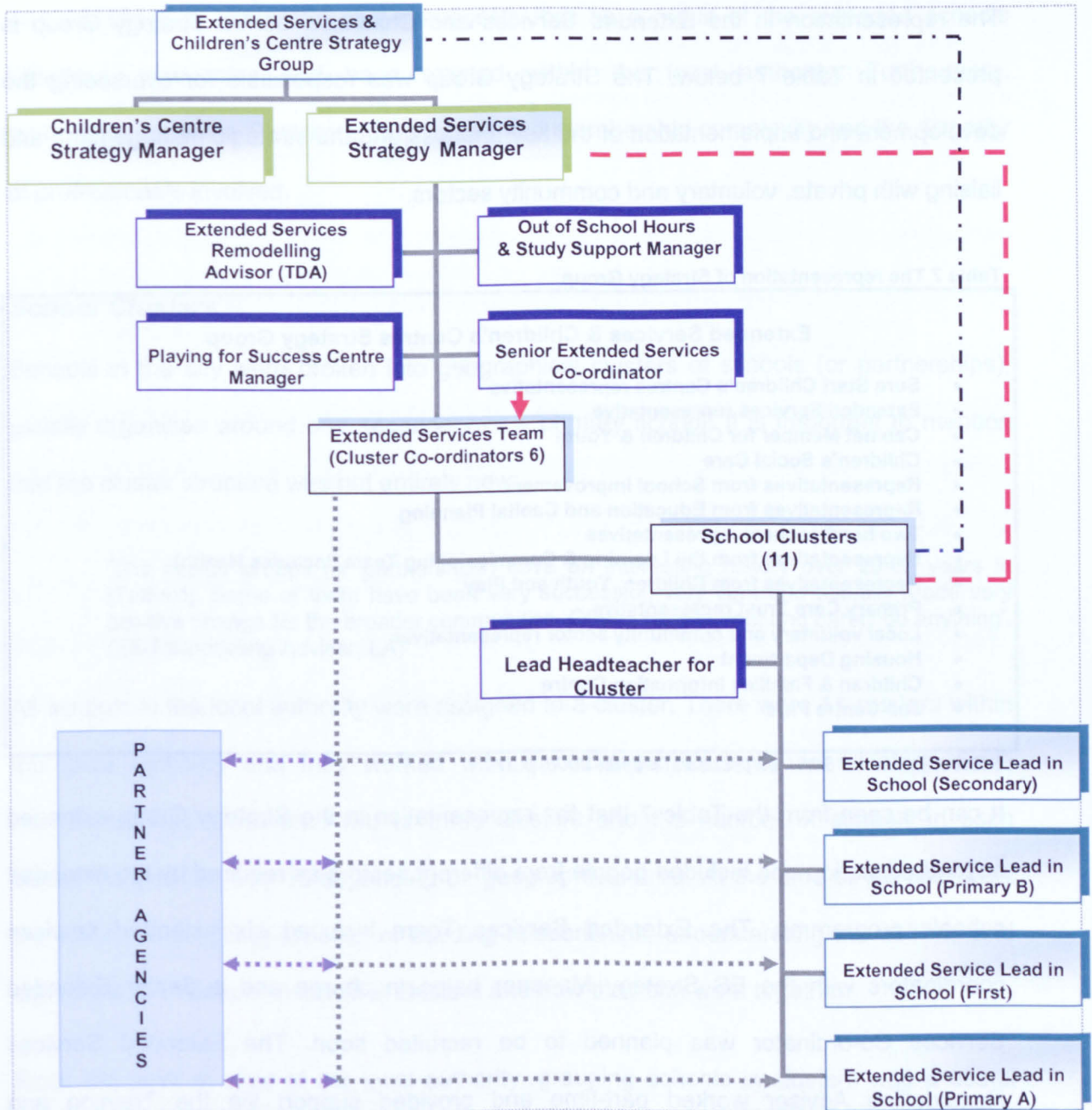


Figure 1 Extended services management structure at the local authority (January 2009)

Key to lines meaning in the Figure 1:

1. One dotted and one broken lines from the Extended Services and Children's Centre Strategy Group to clusters and from the Extended Services Strategy Manager as well mean that they influence the cluster but have not the direct management of them.
2. Dotted lines from the Extended Services Lead in Schools to Partner Agencies and also to Extended Services Team Cluster coordinators mean that they communicate directly with schools or through assistance of Cluster coordinators but they do not manage one another

The overall responsibility for extended services in the city lay with an Extended Services Strategy Manager who reported to the Extended Services and Children's Centre Strategy Group within the Children's Trust (see Figure 1).

The representation in the Extended Services and Children's Centre Strategy Group is presented in Table 7 below. The Strategy Group was responsible for overseeing the development and implementation of the key priorities and the strategic management, and liaising with private, voluntary and community sectors.

Table 7 The representation of Strategy Group

Extended Services & Children's Centres Strategy Group	
•	Sure Start Children's Centres representative
•	Extended Services representative
•	Cabinet Member for Children & Youth
•	Children's Social Care
•	Representatives from School Improvement
•	Representatives from Education and Capital Planning
•	Two headteachers representatives
•	Representatives from the Learning & Commissioning Team (Includes Health)
•	Representatives from Children, Youth and Play
•	Primary Care Trust representative
•	Local voluntary and community sector representatives
•	Housing Department
•	Children & Families Information Centre
•	Job Centre Plus

Source: Extended Services (Schools) Report 2008, p.37

It can be seen from the Table 7 that the representation in the Strategy Group extended beyond education and included people from different sectors as required by the extended schools programme. The Extended Services Team included six extended services coordinators with the ES Strategy Manager being in charge and a Senior Extended Services Co-ordinator was planned to be recruited soon. The Extended Services Remodelling Adviser worked part-time and provided support via the Training and Development Agency for Schools (TDA), and also assisted the ES Strategy Manager. He said:

'Technically, the Extended Services Strategy Manager is more of the Remodelling Advisor than I am – however, as he has not come from a school background – I contribute to his work and thinking...' (ES Remodelling Adviser, LA)

This quote shows that more informal patterns were slightly at variance with formal structure. The role of the Extended Services Co-ordinator was described by a respondent from the local authority as a linking mechanism making sure that all agencies are working with schools as they should be within each cluster of schools area.

In sum, the data presented above suggests that as a result of the extended schools initiatives, new roles had been created within the local authority. Furthermore, representation in the Strategy Group highlighted membership complexity and the diversity of professionals involved.

School Clusters

Schools in the city were broken into geographical clusters of schools (or partnerships), usually organised around one secondary or a primary school. It is important to mention that the cluster structure was not entirely new:

'The cluster groups (or partnerships) have an interesting history over 20-30 years in [Taffield]. Some of them have been very successful, very tight and actually made very positive change for the broader communities. Others barely meet and barely do anything'. (ES Remodeling Adviser, LA)

All schools in the local authority were assigned to a cluster. There were 11 clusters within the local authority and they worked with six extended services coordinators. Each coordinator was given one, two or three clusters and the number of schools in each cluster varied from 4 to 19 depending on geographical area. At the time of the field work there was an on-going process of building relationships, understanding the abilities and expectations of people involved in clusters and how they can work together.

From the point of view of the local authority, grouping schools in clusters was a useful mechanism for identifying the needs of schools and communities in such a way that encourages collaboration between schools and helps to deliver the extended services activities on the ground. The headteachers in a cluster of schools were expected to meet with the Extended Services Cluster Co-ordinator on a regular basis to discuss schools' needs, share news and information on how to develop strategic cluster planning:

'...the cluster plan sits in there as one of the ways to identify funding requirements. Also you've got your other links to all the different plans going around (e.g. School Improvement Plan, School Development Plan), a quick flow-chart on funding' (ES Co-ordinator, LA)

The participants from schools had different perceptions of clusters and the cluster plan, with some difficulties being stressed. The first concerns the cluster structure based on the geographical location of schools. Even if schools operate in one geographical area, they often deal with different communities in that area:

'The needs of the communities are very different. We've had a bit of trouble really in trying to get everybody together. It has been a bit of a problem getting people to come to meetings on a regular basis. I would not say it has been all that successful at the moment'. (Headteacher, Daisy nursery school)

In theory, according to the local authority respondents, the cluster plan should be an effective working tool that could help to identify the partner agencies and external funding and other initiatives that could be brought in to support the extended services activities in schools. However, in interviews respondents from schools rarely referred to the cluster plan or to the effectiveness of the cluster system in the city. For example, the headteacher of Myosota primary school commented that 'partnership or cluster of schools is a very loose agreement'. He continued:

'In our group we have fairly regular meetings and we have done one or two things together. You tend to find the small schools have got the strongest needs. From what I see, they work more closely together'. (Headteacher, Myosota primary school)

Similarly, the headteacher from a nursery school recalled one joint project they had in their cluster, a bid for money for computers:

'The only project I can think of we had like that was when the head from Poplar school put in a bid for some computers for using in the community'. (Headteacher, Daisy nursery school)

Another concern about the clusters of schools related to problems in communication, about a lack of time for holding regular cluster meetings and about their efficiency. For example, the Assistant headteacher from Coroniola school commented that:

'... Headteachers are very busy and do not have time to walk around and spend half a morning arguing about a small amount of money and some small things....The cluster plan is not a school plan but a plan for the whole area'.(Assistant headteacher, Coroniola secondary school)

A respondent from a partner agency commented on the different levels of engagement with the initiative across clusters of schools:

'Some of the clusters are more advanced than others and more proactive than others. In some of the areas we take more of a lead role by having introduced our consultation questionnaire... It is a way of trying to encourage the extended services coordinators within the schools or the contacts within the schools to say that actually we are here to support you and help you within your role'. (Manager, Community Safety Partnership)

Despite the enthusiasm of the local authority about the schools clusters, the results from this study showed that majority of headteachers engaged in a joint cluster planning on the basis of their school's interests. Furthermore, smaller schools were more likely to work closely together as firstly, they have common needs, and secondly, because when acting collectively they are less likely to be controlled and influenced by a big and powerful school.

Lead Headteacher

Another element in the extended schools management structure in the city was the role of the Lead Headteacher (see Figure 1). The idea of having a Lead Headteacher (LHT) in each cluster came from the local authority. The LHT is supposed to be nominated by the cluster of schools, and it can be a primary or a secondary head. According to the local authority, the LHT is responsible for promoting strategic planning within the cluster and linking activity across the schools, as well as for 'holding' the funding (from the local authority) for services and activities that partner schools in the cluster may have identified. LHTs are, in theory, there to work closely with the Extended Services Cluster Co-ordinator to lead the cluster and they are 'like the champion of Extended Services in that area'. Speaking about the role of the LHT one respondent commented:

'The evidence to date is that that requires some new and different skills... There are others across the city who have had a clear vision for their own school and this is not evidence in terms of research, but my instinctive response to what I know is that in the end they tend to spend more time developing their own services, in their own school. They try to pull other people together, I am not saying that they do not make some progress, but it is hard work because there is not necessarily a shared vision, an agreed vision by the four, five, six, seven that might be in that cluster' (ES Remodelling Advisor, LA).

This quote supports the arguments stated earlier that implementing the extended schools programme on the ground requires new skills of leaders. Furthermore, achieving shared aims and vision among all partners within a cluster of schools could be challenging.

Respondents noted that the LHT should not be making decisions independently about what are and what are not priorities for the cluster. While shadowing in one of clusters in the city during the fieldwork, I observed the following way of decision-making. There were 19 schools in the cluster which were broken down into 4 'headteachers' families' with 3-5 headteachers in each group based on the close geographical location of schools. There was an extended service 'champion' (i.e. a lead headteacher) who held the budget. At one of the 'headteacher family' meetings three primary school headteachers were present. At the beginning of the meeting the headteachers spent about 15 minutes catching up with the school and local area news and the school daily routine (e.g. finance, the imminent inspection report, sharing contact information) and it was very obvious that the heads knew each other very well and got along as a group. Following this, there was an efficient and to-the-point discussion of the cluster plan concerning joint extended services activities in their schools and how it was best to spend the extended services budget. As a group they met every half term. Another headteachers' family had only two heads at the time of data collection (Spring term 2009). Those headteachers were executive heads of two primary schools each. One of the heads holds the budget. Obviously it was easier for two heads to find an agreement on common plans than for a large group to do so.

In an informal conversation with a representative from the local authority, I learnt that having a Lead Headteacher was a good idea but headteachers were suspicious about it as, firstly, there was no clear job description attached to the post and, secondly, some heads did not want to have the extra responsibility in addition to their existing job commitments.

The data presented above suggest that new management structures that have been developed to support the implementation of the extended schools initiative have expanded beyond educational boundaries and set up an inter-agency representation. There is also a clear statement of a need for a new vision, new ways of working by leaders within those

structures. However, as far as one can tell, the work of schools in clusters and the introduction of the Lead Headteacher role did not have a significant impact on the development of the extended services programme in schools involved in the current study.

The next section presents data related to the extended services management in schools and also presents a cross case analysis of respondents' perceptions about new roles and accountability issues.

5.4 Extended Services Management Structure in Schools

The data reveal that the operational side of the extended services management in schools depends to some degree on the size of a particular school and its type. The management of extended services varied in the four schools participating in the research project. Staffing was a big concern in schools as people involved in the extended services activities often had to combine that function with their other job commitments. Some schools had a member of the Senior Management Team (SMT) who had specific responsibility for extended services, some had a learning mentor as a link, while others appointed a person from outside who was responsible for the extended services. It was often a decision by headteachers whom they appoint as their Lead for extended services in schools (see Figure 1 above).

Daisy Nursery School and Big Daisy Children's Centre

The nursery school was designated a Children's Centre a couple of years ago and the official opening of the centre was at the start of 2009. The headteacher of the nursery school was also the head of the Children's Centre. The Children's Centre was run by a

Children's Centre Committee with five members of the School's Governing Body, a representative from the local authority and there was wider community representation:

'...the heads of the other two local schools are on there, we have got health, we have got the pre-school learning alliance, we have got local faith represented, and EMAS (Ethnic Minority Achievement Support) services. We have got quite a good representation' (Headteacher, Daisy nursery school)

The management structure that was set up differed from other nursery schools and Children's Centres as governors were actively involved:

'It is kind of a bit of a "flawed" structure because it does not really fit with the local authority and where they've put Children's Centres onto schools, it varies. I only know of one other school where the head and the governors want to be really involved. Most of the other schools that I know of, they want to be at arms' length, they are quite happy to have the Children's Centres on their premises but not particularly be involved". (Headteacher, Daisy nursery school)

This quote supports the earlier argument that schools had different attitudes and levels of involvement with the government initiatives.

The Children's Centre Coordinator was responsible for the daily management of Children's Centre services, but she was absent from work from December to the end of March, so the headteacher had to cover for her.

Myosota Primary School and Tyler Children's Centre

One of the assistant heads in the school was responsible for the management of extended services activities within the school. The assistant headteacher received significant support from the headteacher and the SMT as well as from the mentor and other staff members because she was in a new role that had started only in September 2008.

'The headteacher has been in education for a long time and he has got lots of links with people and knows a lot about different organizations....and it is normally the learning mentors who work quite a lot with the extended services as well' (Assistant Headteacher, Myosota primary school)

The headteacher of the Myosota school was also head of the Tyler Children's Centre that was opened a year previously and also became a Lead Headteacher during the time of data collection.

Lantana Secondary School

The Lantana school had a long history of partnership working with other local schools and partner agencies. Its Community Development Group (CDG) dealt with partnership activities with other schools and agencies. There were eight members in the CDG, as the School Business Manager described it:

‘...three of the managers who are delivering some of those services directly, plus governors who also have a responsibility as part of the Governing Body and the head of Administrative staff’(School Business Manager, Lantana secondary school)

The CDG met once a month to look at various tasks and initiatives in the school including extended services activities. The CDG was accountable to the principal of the school:

‘The Principal is responsible for everything. He has oversight of everything, the vice-principal, the assistant headteacher and I all reporting to him, along with others, so he has that strategic overview and is ultimately responsible for how we allocate resources...’ (School Business Manager, Lantana secondary school)

At the time of the field work in the school the CDG decided to appoint an Extended Services Manager who would chair the group and liaise with the local authority. One of the reasons for that decision was that roles were changing, with the school receiving requests to provide activities outside of the traditional remit of the school day, or immediately after the school day.

I observed a CDG meeting in the school where five members were present and others had made apologies. The chair of the meeting was the School Business Manager who said that after conducting interviews an Extended Services Manager had been appointed but that this person had then turned down the post. The school was looking at re-advertising the position. That fact suggests that Lantana school was continuing to push the extended schools initiative forward. Next, all group members present updated the meeting on the latest news on campus, in theatre, leisure and adult continuing education (ACE). It was noted that 2009/2010 was proving to be a difficult year in terms of budget and therefore all areas needed to be looked at in terms of making savings. The meeting

went very efficiently. There was a team of 6-7 people in Lantana school who were involved in extended services on a daily basis and there were many part-time and full-time teachers, artists and technicians who were involved in running different activities.

Coroniola Secondary School

Leadership and management of the extended schools programme in Coroniola secondary school on a daily basis was largely carried out by the assistant headteacher, although the head noted:

'...we are not as monolithic as that, so if something interesting comes my way then I will take the initiative but I will go to my assistant head, and say, I like this, I want you to investigate it. But equally other members of staff can do that as well' (Headteacher, Coroniola secondary school).

The assistant headteacher worked with the Curriculum co-ordinator from the school and had a good link with the Extended Services Cluster Co-ordinator.

'We work in triangulation... I am on the leadership team and they are expert in this and I am new to it I am responsible for the planning, delivery and development of extended services at the school. There is a strategic group and anyone from the staff is allowed to impact on the group or join the group as a full-time member.' (Assistant Head, Coroniola secondary)

This quote supports the earlier statement that the extended schools initiative requires additional knowledge, and skills. Furthermore, this evidence suggest that power is not distributed equally among staff members.

5.5 The role of the Headteacher

A respondent from a health agency commented that the government educational policy expected headteachers 'to be very much community leaders', and to be responsible for all aspects of the development of the child, and to an extent the wider community.

Respondents acknowledged that the role of headteachers had changed dramatically:

'So they have to have a bigger awareness of their environment outside of their school gates... they have to be aware of who to contact, or how to get resources into their school, because that's the big fundamental shift as well regarding extended services'. (ES Manager, LA)

Informants from partner agencies expressed their concern that headteachers faced a real challenge to deliver the children's and families' agenda in the community:

'I think it's unfair to think that headteachers in addition to their already very extensive role could take on the business management of services that take place, not only for the school community but for the outside geographical community'. (Manager, Health organization)

A respondent from the local authority with many years' experience as a headteacher believed that the role of the heads is crucial in moving the initiative forward. He argued that overall the leadership of the extended services programme should lie with the school:

'...the heart of that leadership has actually got to be in the schools. At the moment, I do not know of any examples where somebody beyond the school in a local area has got a very strong vision of what ought to be and is leading the school towards that. I do not know of any circumstances like that. You are pretty dependent upon the head and his/her leadership team and governance having a belief in a vision (I will be idealistic) that working in genuine partnership with other agencies is a benefit' (ES Remodeling Adviser, LA)

This quote suggests that school leaders have to be committed themselves to the implementation of the programme and they need skills to persuade the entire staff that partnership working would benefit the school.

On the ground, the headteachers felt that the leadership largely came from them, supported by governors in the Daisy nursery school and by the SMT in the primary and the two secondary schools studied:

'I think that the leadership lies with me as a headteacher but supported by the governors. The staff have been very keen (most of them anyway) to get involved in extended services. We did them out of our own resources before we had funding from the Sure Start' (Headteacher, Daisy nursery school)

The respondents from schools felt that the extended schools programme increased substantially the level of headteacher accountability and responsibility:

'...I have got ultimate responsibility... If the person who is coaching football in the morning turns out to be a criminal or something like that then I'll take the rap for that. Any development in provision has got to be something I am comfortable with, something I think will benefit the school and our students, something I think is consistent with our overall vision. So in a sense it won't happen unless I am happy with it...' (Headteacher, Coroniola secondary school)

Clearly school leaders had a lot of power and control over partner agencies approaching their schools. At the same time heads felt a lot of pressure from the inspection regime:

'... we suffer from the fact that we've got an inspection regime that is not interested. They were not interested in us until September 2008. What is the title? "The Community Cohesion"? They are way behind schools. Not interested, only want to know what your SATs results are, not interested. I find Ofsted is a barrier to everything to be honest. They are out of touch with reality'. (Headteacher, Myosota primary school)

All headteachers involved in the current study expressed support for the initiative and believed they were responsible for inspiring the staff to get involved on a daily basis in extended services activities in schools.

It is apparent from these data that school leaders wear many hats, and play a variety of roles. This sort of work requires a set of additional leadership skills and attributes which will be further explored in Chapter 6.

The results from this research indicate that not all heads were willing to be personally engaged with the extended schools programme. As mentioned above, the work overload was a big obstacle. It was observed, while shadowing one of the clusters in the city, that a headteacher of a primary school complained about a lack of time to be proactive:

'I don't have time to be proactive. Rebecca took Healthy Schools from me and I am happy that she is doing that' (Headteacher, Red Ginger primary school, field notes 25th February 2009)

There were also expressed some critical comments by respondents from partner agencies:

‘...So heads do not want to get involved in the detail, but they are very keen to have that Extended Services support’ (Manager, Sure Start)

The data gathered in four schools involved in this study reveal that headteachers to some extent were personally involved in the extended schools programme. However, the limitations of the data prevent inferences about the role of headteachers and development of the extended schools programme in other schools in the city.

Nevertheless, observations of two meetings in a family of headteachers cluster showed that three heads were very clear about activities they needed in their schools and who were the key partners to approach. Heads were leading the initiative in their sub-cluster, and the extended services cluster co-ordinator was there to support with contact information and available funding from the local authority. The results from this study suggest that the role of headteachers in the implementation of the extended schools programme is pivotal, and heads’ skills to motivate staff were seen as critical drivers of the initiative.

5.6 Role Ambiguity

The extended services programme included a range of non-traditional tasks in and around the schools that created new roles and reshaped existing roles.

‘Schools that have got Children’s Centres on site, there is more likelihood of heads making the transition. In another words, they are saying “This is the role I used to have, I am going to scrap that. I am going to take two-thirds of that role and re-work it, but there is a new third here, so my role is now different. I have not come across many heads who have been that brave, because they don’t necessarily have the vision of why that would be better’. (ES Remodelling Advisor, LA)

Participants commented that all roles were changing everywhere:

‘And those within the practice, as we have seen in schools, with a wide range of roles now, not just teachers, but TAs, a range of other people, parents, support workers and other people coming on board – roles are changing, the nature of schools is shifting - very slow. The same things must be happening in other agencies’. (ES Remodelling Advisor, LA)

There was certainly ambiguity about roles expressed by participants from the local authority. The ES co-ordinator saw his role as an 'advisor to identify the support that the school needs' and as a 'friend to support the relationship building and linking schools with partner agencies'. Schools had control over the programme themselves:

'The co-ordinator title sometimes gives schools the impression that the co-ordinator is there to do it all for them [...] because the idea is that the school own the work and we're just there to support and advise, because otherwise we're constantly sort of knocking on the door saying, "please come and work with us" and that's not what its all about really...And we're there to sort of mediate the arguments between the different groups, because you may just within your cluster have certain schools that don't want to work with each other for political reasons'. (ES Cluster Co-ordinator, LA)

The Extended Services Strategy Manger, on the other hand, commented that co-ordinators have to be able to develop strategy and help to develop local initiatives, and pull together the resources with the local community:

'...the co-ordinators are there to help and assist all of that so the headteachers say to the co-ordinators "We're interested in parenting sessions can you go ahead and do it?", and the co-ordinator has to go out, resource the building, resource the trainers, resource the time, get the publicity organised, get all of that stuff done...' (ES Manager, LA)

These differences in the understanding of roles could puzzle people on the ground as they might have different expectations, for example, of the cluster co-ordinator. This study indicates that people in schools often got confused by a range of partner agencies and their roles and functions. While shadowing in a cluster of headteachers meeting, I observed the following conversation:

Headteacher (Red Ginger, primary school): 'I am very confused with all people supporting me... and at the end I don't know what to do?'

Health Visitor: 'Yes, there is need for an advisory group... and all needs to be put together. It would be a good way for exchange of key people, contacts and less duplication. It is possible and we try to do it in a structural way...' (Field notes, 25th February 2009).

This example shows how people are able to negotiate a way forward. Participants noted that it takes time for people on the ground to get clarity about new roles.

'...We try and pull it all together and stop the duplication and to provide a better level of support for the schools in the community, so it takes a little bit longer, people hear about us, we can basically go along to almost every meeting that's out there, but it takes a little bit longer for people to understand what our actual role is...' (ES Cluster Co-ordinator, LA)

This situation of role ambiguity might be explained by the fact that there were so many overlapping initiatives from central government. Furthermore, new management structures and hierarchies, new ways of collaboration in the city, a lack of shared vision between schools and partner organizations, and lack of experience in collaborative working together brought more complexity in day-to-day work.

'There is a potential for an awful lot of overlap, duplication or simply ineffective practice...'
(Headteacher, Coroniola secondary school)

The evidence from observations also highlights a complexity and duplication of practices. Throughout the conversations that took place with participants in this study, it became obvious that schools and partner agencies did not have enough clarity about their roles and expectations from collaborative working. There were some confusion and uncertainty.

In sum, the results from this study suggest that a new management structure that was set up at the local authority level caused confusion about professional roles and presented ambiguous lines of accountability within inter-agency collaborative settings. Also, the management structure of the extended services programme in schools depends on the size of school and staff availability and willingness to be involved in the development of the initiative on a daily basis: respondents from partner agencies did not see school structure as a barrier for delivering the extended services provision and inter-agency collaboration. It is clear that the extended services programme created a range of extra tasks in and around schools and, therefore, also created a need for a new professional vision, new roles, and/or reshaping of existing roles at the local authority level, in schools and in partner agencies. The results reveal that school leaders wore many hats and played a range of roles. The majority of participants believed that vision and motivation of school leaders were crucial for the development and success of initiatives on the ground although, of course, headteachers relied on the support of the staff to move the extended schools programme forward.

5.7 Core Offer of Extended Services: Some Examples of Practice

The results from this study shows that schools set up a variety of clubs and activities for children, their parents and the wider community. The examples of extended services clubs, study support and other projects in schools involved in the case study are summarised in Table 8.

Table 8 Summary of extended services activities in schools involved in the study

School / Children's Centre	CORE OFFER				
	Childcare	Varied menu of activities	Parenting support	Swift & easy access	Community access
Daisy Nursery school & Big Daisy Children's Centre*	Crèche	Sport sessions, Yoga; Music Sewing, cooking courses; Stories, Songs and Rhymes	Parents & Toddler Group; Family Stay & Play with information drop in; Family Fun Stay session for Dads & Working Parents; Parent's Involved in Children's Learning	Health visitors & midwives drop in; young babies clinic; Antenatal classes; Multicultural Mum's Stay & Play; Job Centre Plus Drop; Citizens Advice Bureau Relate	ICT courses; Hire out laptops for learning
Myosota primary school & Tyler Children's Centre*	Crèche	Breakfast club; After school and holiday clubs; arts, crafts, sports clubs; French club; Peripatetic music	Parent & Toddler session; Teenage Parent Group; "Dads & Lads" project; Parent & Child Writer's workshop"; Group for parents with craft activities;	Baby clinics & cafe; Sport activities; Healthy life style; Relate; Citizens Advice Bureau; English for Speakers of other languages; Healthy lifestyle; "Taking Charge of Your Life" (Build Stress, Build Confidence) sessions	Adult learning Information sessions; Free part time nursery education; Information sessions about courses in a local University Football club
Coroniola secondary school	N/A **	Breakfast club; Gardening club; and 50+ after school study support classes & clubs; Sporting activities; Connexions "drop-in"	Information sessions for parents	Sexual Health "drop-in" clinic	Information sessions about courses in the local university; ACE; sport and leisure centre
Lantana secondary school	N/A **	Breakfast club; Music, Dance, Drama clubs; Youth theatre Sporting activities	FAST (Family & Schools Together project)	The Well Being Suite	Adult Ed (arts, crafts, practical skills; languages; dance, music; sport; health & wellbeing; IT; courses leading to a qualification; Family & Child classes; Leisure centre; Gallery; Theatre

* As Children's Centres were designated in Daisy and Myosota schools the activities were available for children and parents in those schools as well

** Childcare was offered mainly in primary schools

As can be seen from the table above, almost all schools involved in the study were providing some elements of the core offer.

5.7.1 Childcare

The crèche facilities were opened in the Daisy and Tyler Children's Centres for parents who were going to attend training courses or consultation in the Children's Centres or on school sites. Two secondary schools were not providing childcare facilities on the school site but signposting to other locations.

5.7.2 Varied menu of activities

All schools provided a range of clubs, study support activities and holiday provision for children. Breakfast clubs were set up in primary and two secondary schools:

'...breakfast club now sustains itself because we have got to keep it fresh and interesting. For instance, they have a set, healthy school menu, but they bring something different in, or for instance like on Bonfire Night, they'll add something to it, or we'll have a French Day, so they'll have croissants, something like that, they'll alter it to keep it interesting, but also it is educating because children will learn a bit more'. (Headteacher, Myosota primary school)

Every teacher in Myosota primary school offered at least one club throughout the school year. The headteacher commented:

'...and it's the goodwill of staff, they don't have to run these things, the only people who are paid in any way, shape or form are the breakfast clubs employees of which there are 2, and they get an extra hour's pay, and I buy in through extended schools' money a firm called Sport Support and one or two other things after school so that they can offer football and other sporting activities to the children. (Headteacher, Myosota primary school).

The children, members of the School's Council in Myosota school, asked their peers in the school about what clubs they would like to have running, and teachers did their best to meet children's needs and interests. There were about 13 clubs each term including sport support. Participants from the school noted that children also had the opportunity to attend clubs in other local schools and some joint holiday provision was organised with support from the Parish Council.

I had an opportunity to observe some clubs that were run by teachers in the school and had informal conversations with teachers and children. The number of children in each

club varied from 7 to 12 and they were quite excited about the activities they were engaged in. Overall the majority of teachers seemed positive about the clubs' activities for children as they saw it as a part of the Every Child Matters agenda and as a way of enriching children's life chances. Some teachers noted that it was their decision what club to run, while others asked children what they would be interested in attending.

There were 50+ after-school classes and clubs running in the Coroniola secondary school.

A respondent noted:

'We now run a breakfast club every morning. We also run activities for students during holidays as well. So we've run gifted and talented schools, half term just gone last week, we had our study facilities open throughout the week and I think we had about 250 students came in, in the year 10 and 11'. (Headteacher, Coroniola secondary school)

I spoke to a group of students while observing of study support activities in the library in Coroniola secondary school. They seemed happy at having something useful to learn in the school during the holiday as they said: 'rather than staying at home and doing nothing'. Students also looked motivated and excited about the different tasks they performed in clubs. In an informal conversation a teacher said that students had become more confident, their self-esteem had risen and their attitudes towards schooling had improved. In addition, students had learned to see themselves as a part of the community where they lived through a range community activities they were involved in (e.g. a gardening club; community safety issues) before school or after school, or at lunchtimes.

There were many music, drama, dance, sport clubs and study support activities in Lantana secondary school. Teachers were running clubs, but a respondent from the school commented that they were looking for other options:

'For a long time we've provided breakfast facilities for our students on site, and there are always clubs, extra curricular activities, and opportunities to work in the Library through till 4.30-5.00pm currently. It may be that we can extend those, but we need to look at the impact on cost of that provision, because just to extend teachers working hours, we need to look at a range of other people who could come in and work alongside them'. (Arts College Manager, Coroniola secondary school)

Overall, the evidence from the data suggests that in all schools involved in the present study the majority of teachers were involved in the provision of clubs and extra-curricular activities for children and students as a part of the extended schools programme.

5.7.3 Parenting support

Official documents provided by the local authority respondents showed that Parenting Information Days had been delivered in the city of Taffield with the support of over 50 organizations concerned with engaging parents and children to promote a safe environment for children, adult learning and parenting techniques. One of the major developments of parenting in Taffield was the introduction of Parent Support Advisers into the schools.

The majority of respondents in this study believed that close connections between schools and families would benefit children's well-being and achievement. Schools worked hard to establish good links with families through organising activities where children and parents had the opportunity to study and play together. However, there was some variation in this; the data showed that there were more activities for parents offered in nursery and primary schools than in secondary schools (see Table 8 above).

A number of courses were available for parents in Daisy Nursery school and the Big Daisy Children's Centre, such as basic practical help in parenting skills, helping parents with managing their children's behaviour and helping parents understand how children learn. Also many parents attended ante-natal classes.

The main concern of the headteacher of the Nursery school was how to engage better with the Bangladeshi families that are a major part of the population in the local community. A Parent and Toddler Group was set up with the aim of getting Bangladeshi families involved in learning activities:

'We really worked hard to promote it. We found that Bangladeshi children who attended our Toddler Group settled into nursery school really quickly, whereas traditionally those children have had no experience outside their extended family. And it was just a terrible culture shock and they were absolutely bereft and it was terrible for them when they started. I think that is true of Bangladeshi children and it is true of any children'. (Headteacher, Daisy nursery school)

Other sensitive issues that the Nursery school had to deal with were overcoming cultural stereotypes and building trust with parents and families. The headteacher showed awareness and understanding of Bangladeshi cultural traditions but also admitted that cultural stereotypes were a big challenge:

'...it's particularly, very often the young wife comes to live with her husband and his family, and the mother-in-laws have a lot of authority, we have them coming to check out the groups, make sure there aren't any men, there's no singing and dancing, unsuitable activities... we have made headway and get trust of the community, so I think it's just recognising it is a slow process and we have to carry on with that process. But it is very delicate'. (Headteacher, Daisy nursery school)

There was a range of parenting classes including teaching English as a second language, and ICT courses in Daisy nursery school and Myosota primary school and in the Children's Centres attached to those schools.

'We also do ICT training. Two courses are going on at the moment with parents learning how to do basic computer skills. All of those things will help both in terms of parents helping their children with their school work but also helping them to get into the work place. Another thing we do is provide a lot of advice and support and signposting for people. We might not be able to provide the advice and the support that they need but we can probably signpost them to somewhere or somebody who has. And the aim of it for us is that we are providing all of these services but within pram pushing distance of where people live, so that people do not have to go far to find the support' (Headteacher, Daisy nursery school).

There were courses for parents (as well as for other people from local communities) to get training in IT in Lantana and Coroniola secondary schools, as part of a wide ranging adult and continuing educational provision.

The majority of participants found engaging with parents a challenge. Parents were often reluctant to come to schools because they had bad memories of their own schooling or they were not successful at school and so on. It was more challenging for Myosota primary school and Coroniola secondary school to engage with parents as both schools were located in areas of considerable disadvantage. A representative from the local Parish Council reported:

'We have a very low educational attainment level. So a lot of our parents that are out there do not have level one skills even and a lot of them cannot read or write, so to send their children to school it is a big step' (Manager, Parish Council)

Participants commented that parents often saw themselves as 'outsiders' in a school:

'Parents are quite reluctant to come in, no matter what the meeting seems to be about, into school at the moment... I don't think parents do see it as their place at the moment' (Curriculum co-ordinator, Coroniola secondary school)

Despite these challenges the nursery school was quite pro-active trying to encourage parents to come to the school and attend training sessions. The headteacher described:

'We phone them up and we go knock on the door, and talk to them and invite them to come down and come to our groups, definitely it helps them. We have always believed that getting parents involved as partners in their children's learning at nursery school would have a good knock-on effect. So now we are in a position that we can hopefully get them involved even earlier when they are very small, so that should have a better effect'. (Headteacher, Daisy nursery school)

The head said that a nursery school tried to be very 'unschool', very informal where both parents and children call school staff by their first name. A respondent from the Tyler Children's Centre admitted that, although it was challenging, they worked hard to engage with parents:

'...we just constantly ask parents. We give out questionnaires, parents decide what facilities they would like in the Children's Centre. We work very much with the community, but Taffield is a transient community, a lot of people move in and out' (Manager, Tyler Children's Centre)

Another helpful strategy was described by the headteacher from Myosota primary school:

'You have got to be a very cheerful, open person and make the community feel welcome in schools. A lot of people do not feel welcome in schools. They always feel there is a barrier. One of the things that we did for instance, when we have a parents evening and they are always well-attended here, the Children Centre was opened and it was said: "Tea, coffee and cakes, over at the Children Centre after you have seen the teacher!" It was a way of getting people in and it was a way of showing them we were working together and it just creates openness really. People always like a cup of tea and a piece of cake, don't they?' (Headteacher, Myosota primary school)

It can be seen from the above that building trusting relationships was seen as an important aspect to engage with parents and the community, and that it could be important for the promotion of community cohesion.

The data revealed that partner agencies applied a range of strategies while working with parents:

'...we try to work with their families, so we do activities with families, at the moment we're doing a pilot program, and the aim is that the parents will come in and do work with the children, we go into the house and do baking with the family, you know, it's very practical, hands-on, supporting families to move on themselves, because people can often say what you want them to say when you're in the room, what we want to do is make lasting change, not just tick a box really'. (Manager, YOT)

The headteacher of Myosota primary school believed that getting men involved in their children's education could be possible through sporting activities. Parents were involved in a local football club.

'The parents have taken over the local football club, and it has been going now for nearly three years. It did not run well before and it is getting stronger and stronger. So in other words, we have given the support to local people to take it forward and what we do: we lend them the field, I have bought them the equipment, they pay the school back and they started running a football weekend and I think they practise on one night a week, and it is getting to be very successful. It is very voluntary, the good will of people – a lot of this is good will' (Headteacher, Myosota primary school)

Furthermore, the head of Myosota school managed to establish strong links with a popular professional football club in the city, and children were involved in some projects at the stadium and also received some free coaching sessions. The school got free tickets for families to go and watch the games:

'... we were given two free tickets recently which I used as a reward at the end of the 'Dads and Lads' project we were running. We also receive reduced prices in family tickets. Our Head is very keen to promote this; it's a way of engaging the community with its surroundings, as well as encouraging family days out'. (Assistant head, Myosota primary school)

The 'Dads and Lads' project mentioned by the assistant head was provided by the Taffield Art Gallery in collaboration with the Tyler Children's Centre. The project encouraged fathers or father figures/mentors, through sharing activities with their children, to deepen their relationships and better understand each other. The assistant head commented:

'Our links with the Taffield Gallery came from a project our Art co-ordinator organised a few years back. We have re-launched another Dads and Lads this term and will also do another one next year linking this with our work with the Tyler Children's Centre' (Assistant head, Myosota primary school)

Myosota school was offered 15 places for fathers, grandparents, uncles, carers to participate with their children. There were about four fathers who took up the opportunity and continued to come to Myosota school through the project:

'We do find it difficult at times to engage the parents or carers in projects that we run, but this is a good start and we will just keep building on this'. (Assistant head, Myosota primary school)

Through observations made while shadowing one of the clusters, I learnt more about the Family and Schools Together (FAST) project that was introduced to a local primary school in that cluster. FAST was an eight-week course for children and all members of their family, designed to strengthen family bonds and to encourage families to become more involved with the school:

'These are simply volunteer parents willing to be part of the delivery of the family support projects that social workers, social work students, and other community agencies will be delivering... As a team we will either provide or facilitate a project that meets an identified support need at the school. If, for instance, a school feels that the overall need is for "Stay Safe" to be promoted in the school, we would launch a suitable project that academic year' (Social worker, Social service)

The head of Myosota school also managed to receive a small grant for a Parent and Child Writers' workshop for six weeks and then it was extended into the curriculum. The Ofsted report for the school noted that 'the school introduced a very successful "writers' workshop" which stimulated a greater focus on developing writing skills, resulting in pupils gaining confidence in writing more extensively and independently' (Ofsted report, 2008). The assistant head commented:

'We do still hold parent and child workshops, we are currently doing a "Reading with your child" workshop with Adult Continuing Education (ACE). At the moment this is not mainstream [i.e. included in the curriculum], though I do hope to start this soon with the University of the First Age (UFA) – a homework club for parents first so that we can then continue this with the parents and children' (Assistant head, Myosota primary school)

The data gathered during observation in another cluster of schools included a project aimed at parents' involvement in helping children learning. The three primary schools from this cluster were involved in the pilot had all identified 'engaging with parents' as one of their school priorities and were keen to work together on a joint project. The course was held over the 3 venues on a weekly rotation, was hosted by the individual schools and

delivered by Taffield Extended Services team members. The course was run with parents from 3 primary schools and 40 parents attended the programme at least once. Headteachers felt that it would be difficult to sustain commitment from parents for more than 3 sessions. They therefore asked the Extended Services Team to condense the programme into 3 stand-alone but linked sessions. The parents' feedback on their experience about participation in the project was very positive; there are some comments below from the questionnaires asking what message parents would be taking away with them:

'I have thoroughly enjoyed all 3 sessions. Remembering being back in the classroom and how it feels has been really useful'.

'My children may not learn like me!'

'Your children will become what you are, so be what you want them to be'.

'I have a big part to play in their learning'.

The parents involved asked for more parent workshops and also for practical sessions to which they could bring their children in order to try out different learning activities together.

Parents and community members had a representation on the Governing Body in all schools involved in the study. While in some schools, like for example, Daisy nursery school, the Governing Body played an active role in the decision-making process, in other schools (e.g. Myosota school) the Governing Body was less pro-active.

5.7.4 Swift and Easy Access

Schools were working in partnership with many organizations such as health services, the Children and Adolescents Mental Health Service (CAMHS), social services, community and voluntary organizations, Brook (this is a voluntary sector provider of free and confidential sexual health advice), Relate (provides couple counselling and relationship courses or workshops that cover topics like assertiveness, self-esteem, stress, conflict and relationships), the University of the First Age (UFA) and some other agencies to provide support services and activities for children, their parents and the community.

Different activities were set up for families and community members after the opening of Children's Centres. Schools and Children's Centres were working very closely with Relate and the Citizens Advice Bureau:

'We have Relate in our building that does counselling. We have Citizens Advice Bureau once a week, they're doing lots of debt management, so I mean there are a lot of our parents who don't have very much money and they're having trouble managing their money so children might be going hungry. There's a lot of domestic violence and that's the same for Relate...' (Headteacher, Daisy nursery school).

This quote shows that schools serving disadvantaged communities had to offer more services to meet needs of poor families and in these circumstances inter-agency partnership working was a solution in terms of funding, resources and professional expertise to tackle issues of social exclusion.

Schools worked closely with professionals from health agencies to raise children's, parents' and community knowledge and awareness about healthy lifestyle, sexual health, drugs and alcohol prevention. A main vehicle in delivering the health agenda in schools was through the 'School Nursing Services' and a network of school Matrons who are employed directly by schools:

'We have a great deal of input with Sex and Relationships Education, which I see very much as part of the Health agenda, and that's supported by organizations such as the Brook as well as school nursing, as well as the school matrons, and there are other parts of the Health agenda such as mental health, so the CAMHS who operate with and through schools'. (Manager, Health agency)

In Lantana secondary school the Well Being Suite was set up for students, parents, staff and the community. The Well Being Suite was funded by the Primary Care Trust (PCT) that was facilitated through the children's health and social care joint commissioning process. It consisted of a number of meeting rooms where children, parents, and others could go to consult with relevant agencies. A range of support services were offered in the suite during the day and after school from organizations such as Child Adolescent Mental Health (CAMHS), Brook, Compass, Relate, the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (NSPCC) and Connexion. The school matron was also based in the Well Being Suite during school hours:

'... we [the Community Development Group] have taken the role of the school nurse or matron, and we're linking with the local authority to look at what sorts of support we can offer them. [...] The Family and School Together Programme has been working in Primary Schools, but we're the first Secondary School to try to move that agenda forward'. (Art College Manager, Lantana secondary school)

The issues related to personal wellbeing of students were the top priority in all schools involved in the study and especially in the two secondary schools as they have to deal with teenagers' behaviour problems. For example, the respondent from Coroniola school described the following extra curricular activities organised in the school:

'We run a sexual health drop-in. We've just got a Compass, that's a drugs and alcohol worker who's assigned to us for one day a week, so she also is running drop-ins. We run an Octopus group which is for students that we believe might be at risk as far as mental health issues are concerned. We do run in conjunction with the Playing For Success which is based on literacy, but six of the most needy schools are involved in that, and it's on a rota basis. We do gardening club. In the 6th Form in Year 12 we do a lot of enterprise activities that brings in Young Enterprise and Make a Difference volunteers. It isn't that much when you talk about it, but it's sort of developed over the years'. (Curriculum co-ordinator, Coroniola secondary school)

It can be seen from the above that activities provided in the school were designed to help students to understand themselves as a part of the community where they live and to see how they can contribute to the wider society through their study and work. This approach could promote the development of social capital.

Some of the initiatives described by participants during interviews had been operating for many years and cannot be characterised as a distinctive part of the extended schools programme. Nevertheless, those initiatives become a valuable and important characteristic of the school daily life. For example, Lantana secondary school set up a project with the local police on the Community Cohesion Programme. The main focus of the project was to try to reduce anti-social behaviour and look at greater community cohesion. A series of DVDs was created with a set of teacher's notes that schools can use. That work was taken up by the police in another county, and it was widely regarded to be of national importance.

5.7.5 Community Access

As the evidence described above has shown, the schools were working hard to establish close links with the local communities they served. While speaking about 'community' and 'community involvement' respondents from schools tended to speak most about engagement with parents and families. However, some interviewees meant by 'communities': 'everybody who sits within an area, schools, all the different services within the area, private, voluntary, public services, Parish Council, and all the partners that make up a community' (ES Cluster Co-ordinator).

The following ways of engaging with the community were described by respondents: newsletters, community breakfasts, community meetings, and parents' evenings, Carnival, Christmas Fairs and Summer Fetes.

Respondents mentioned that local community meetings provided an opportunity to extend schools into the community:

'We try to attend local community meetings. Yesterday I was at a meeting of an inter-agency group which is just an informal collection of all sorts of organizations and representatives who are working with the community in this area: Parish Council, residents' association, play groups, Taffield Councillors, police, housing, primary schools - all sorts of people about 20 people around the table. Not everybody comes to every meeting; it is always a fluid group. We also have some input into Parish Councils and they feed back to us quite regularly. In some cases what they want to say to us is negative. They want to complain about students dropping litter, students being noisy on the way home, students annoying local people and that is very valuable to us, because if we can identify those students, then we can talk to them individually.' (School Business Manager, Lantana secondary school)

It can be seen from the above that there were many channels of communication and informal means of communication were quite efficient. Furthermore, developing stronger links between schools and the community helps in building trusting relations.

The importance of 'keeping in continual touch with the community' and 'providing realistic consultation' were stressed by many respondents in this study. Often people in the communities do not have adequate information about available services and facilities in

schools, and this can result in a low level of engagement. Participants stated that communication and dissemination of the information about services within the community needed to be improved:

‘There are people that live across the road that don’t know what we do, so it’s always about marketing. I think everything needs marketing a lot more, and I think that’s maybe where there could be an issue. How do you market this to people? How do you get people to come in and access your centre? You can tell them, you can explain that they have a choice. If they don’t take them up you’re not going to reach everybody so making it good profile, making everyone understand what it is and marketing is really important. It’s tough’. (Manager, Tyler Children’s Centre)

There are a number of training courses, events and a range of opportunities for community members that have been developed in the schools (see Table 8).

In Lantana secondary school the leisure centre, the theatre, the gallery and the Well Being Suite (already mentioned above), and Adult Education were available for the wider community in the city. Lantana school has offered adult education classes for many years. According to the Ofsted report (February 2009), Lantana school ‘promotes community cohesion extremely well’ and ‘sought to involve a wide range of local inhabitants, not just parents in a range of educational, social, and entertainment events run by staff and students’.

In partnership with a local University, Coroniola school arranged some information sessions for parents and members of the local community about courses available at the University. The information sessions took place in the Tyler Children’s Centre and in the school.

There were also some projects and activity days where partner agencies were combining and addressing community issues along with encouraging people to socialise and get involved in activities. Respondents believed that activities needed to be used as a tool to engage with people rather than seeing them as the end result:

'If we use the activity as an opportunity to talk to people to find out what makes them tick, people are invariably in a much more positive frame of mind when they are active or involved in something they are interested in, and if they are positive they are much more able to express themselves, and express their interests'. (Senior Manager, Voluntary organization)

A good way to engage with the community was said to be through volunteering:

'It's more difficult if you've put on an activity to engage them, because you're too busy with that to be able to talk to them, so it's easier when you start to get the volunteers in, and then you can try to mingle with them and talk to them about what, you know if there's anything they'd like to do, but 'yeah' always face-to-face, because otherwise you just don't get their attention'. (Community Co-ordinator)

A respondent from a community and voluntary organization stated that people need 'to build up some interdependence upon each other within the community':

'If we are to utilise the school as the community hub, if the school is to become the community hub, then it has to be much broader in the way it develops services and in the way it works with the community, in the way it communicates with that community, in the way it helps the community to help define the services that take place in that school. At the moment there is no responsibility on behalf of the parents, the children or families out there. It's all the responsibility on whomever the delivery body is and actually that reliance is always going to be there. What we need to build up is some interdependence upon each other within the community. Because actually without that we have not built up any capacity and we are going to be continually funding these initiatives forever and a day. Then it becomes very resource ineffective'. (Senior Manager, Voluntary organization)

This view broadly corresponds to Coleman's (1988) notion of social capital. The quote also points to the danger that the activities being provided served as a substitute for the community closure that Coleman argues is required, rather than stimulating it. Some participants suggested that the main aim of projects and activities should be to build social capital through a 'community development approach':

'If it does not seek to build social capital, it should not be delivered, it should not be service provided. We should have underneath our sustainable community strategy, we should have a community development strategy which should then identify the approaches through which we can then deliver services'. (Senior Manager, Voluntary organization)

The main argument is that providing community activities is not enough in itself, that it will not build social capital unless community members take control and responsibility for local development.

In sum, the data reveal that the four schools involved in the study were offering all components of the core offer of the extended services programme, except that the two

secondary schools did not offer childcare services. The school size and internal capacity such as staff, funding, school building facilities, affected a number of activities and services provided. Furthermore, the socioeconomic and ethnic composition of communities shaped the demand for services and influenced the level of family and community engagement with schools.

It can be seen from the data presented above that there were more activities for parents in nursery and primary schools than in secondary schools. Also Lantana secondary school with a specialist school status, and because of its size, was able to offer more adult education classes, sport and leisure activities for parents and the wider community than other schools.

This study highlights that all schools and partner agencies faced a challenge in engaging with parents and hard-to reach groups within the community. Some participants argued that if a school was to be a community hub some joint strategies needed to be developed with other agencies in terms of better marketing of services, empowering people and building a sense of ownership and interdependency within communities.

5.8 Does it Make a Difference? What is the Impact of the Extended Schools Programme?

At the time of data collection participants commented that it was difficult to assess the real impact of the extended services initiative because a very broad agenda had been tackled in the last few years and extended schools provision was only one element of that agenda. Furthermore, some of the services predated the programme, and the impact has to be compared with what was happening beforehand. The extended schools programme had not been running for very long, in relation to the sort of change it was intended to bring about. Therefore, it is more appropriate to consider the value of the initiative as part

of the whole government programme aimed at supporting children, families and the wider community.

The official information provided by the local authority showed that in January 2009 about 94% of schools in Taffield were delivering extended services. Participants from schools believed that children's academic achievement improved as a result of all initiatives that were taking place in the school.

'I can't give you a SATs result and say "Oh that is because of extended opportunities!" All I can say, standard are raising in the school due to lots of reasons'. (Headteacher, Myosota primary school)

A headteacher from Coroniola secondary school commented that the extended schools provision was a part of all other activities that had contributed to the overall improvement in the school:

'The net impact of the broad agenda is that attendance has improved, exclusions have fallen, standards have risen quite dramatically, we have got nearly a 30% improvement in students getting five or more high grade passes last summer. The highest ever percentage before the summer just gone was 22% which is very low, unacceptably low, that went up to 50% this summer'. (Headteacher Coroniola secondary school)

Respondents felt that extended services raised children's ability to learn, exposed the pupils to a wider range of activities that they would not normally have. The extended schools programme gave children new life experience:

'They've got motivation, they might then want to grow up and go to college, to look for jobs where they may be working, they might be living in families where their parents have never worked, they have role models...The whole culture is extended I think within the school. It's not just about the school curriculum, there's a big wide curriculum. It's about activities really'. (Manager, Tyler Children's Centre)

One example is of children coming to the holiday scheme in summer and receiving support from specialist staff; young people were engaging and that might, for instance, have stopped them becoming involved in crime. More generally, participants from schools felt that the extended services had a positive impact on the school culture as children were more excited to come to the school and saw themselves as a part of the wider community. Furthermore, schools, by trying to become an 'open' and friendly place and a

hub of the community, were trying to change negative attitudes towards schooling that some parents had in the past. Respondents saw it as part of building social capital:

'...If you're looking at parents engaging with their children you have less disaffected children. You have upskilling of parents as well, which again is part of the social capital development'. (ES Manager, LA)

Participants argued that the impact of the extended services programme on the schools as a whole could be massive but that this would be a long-term outcome, not achieved immediately. Nevertheless, some respondents mentioned that they had already seen a positive impact from extended services:

'Just in terms of the children's readiness to come into nursery school, they are more ready to settle quickly, we know that if children are emotionally secure and have good wellbeing, then they are going to learn more easily and be much more receptive to learning'. (Headteacher Daisy nursery school)

A similar argument was advanced by a head from the secondary school:

'The feedback from parents in relation to study clubs being open during the holidays, coaching before school, breakfast clubs, those sorts of things, feedback from parents certainly has been overwhelmingly positive. So whatever the evidence we do have even it is informal would support our view that it is a valuable part of the work of the school'. (Headteacher Cononola secondary school)

Participants believed that the extended schools programme was a valuable experience for schools and partner agencies to work together with the aim of tackling social exclusion and disadvantage and generating more social capital in communities.

The extended schools programme also gave more opportunities for parents. Through a range of courses available on a school site and/or Children's Centres parents could enrich their knowledge and skills and could go to work and contribute to the wider society. The data shows that issues of anti-social behaviour, vandalism and other related problems in the community were addressed through the projects developed as a part of the extended schools programme.

From the conversations that took place with participants in this study and documentary analysis of relevant materials from schools and partner agencies, we can identify a number of key potential benefits for children, parents and the community, which are summarised in the Table 9.

Table 9 Summary of the extended schools programme benefits as identified by respondents

	<i>Benefits For Children</i>	<i>Benefits For Parents</i>	<i>Benefits For Community</i>
Education Outcomes	Broadening educational horizons Academic improvements A range of arts and sport activities (extra curricula activities) Better attendance in school – exclusions have fallen Pupils become more “rounded”	Training, education Upskilling Information support, Counselling support	Greater knowledge and awareness of services Consultation Access to ICT and adult education courses on school site Access to facilities
Social Outcomes	New life experience & new role models Self-esteem Motivation Aspiration Confidence Counselling support Socialising More involvement in decision-making in schools	Greater involvement in activities in schools and in the community Counselling support Going back to work Confidence Raising aspiration Job satisfaction	Community cohesion Happy residents Community safety issues Crime rates Developing of parks & playgrounds
Health Outcomes	Well-being, Sexual health Healthy live style Less emotional pressure Reduce teenage pregnancy	Parenting skills, healthy life style	Community well-being & safety; Sports & leisure activities on school site

In sum, the data gathered in this research suggest that the extended schools programme has a positive influence upon lives of children, families, and the wider community. The evidence suggests that extended services activities are seen as playing a valuable part in building social capital that requires development of more social skills and attributes such as self-awareness, motivation, relationship building, involvement in decision-making and community life.

5.9 Summary of main findings presented in Chapter 5

The findings presented in this chapter suggest that:

- Participants perceived the extended schools initiative as a mechanism to deliver the Every Child Matters agenda, an early intervention agenda and an holistic approach to tackle issues of social exclusion. While respondents saw the benefits of the extended schooling philosophy, people were not so clear about how different partners' link together to implement the extended schools programme.
- The membership complexity and diversity of professionals in a new management structure at the local authority led to confusion about roles and responsibilities, and uncertainty about accountability issues on the ground.
- Without undermining the effectiveness of the cluster approach per se, participants from schools were critical about the modified cluster distribution imposed on them. The biggest challenge for schools in a cluster was how to agree on shared aims and vision, and identify a project within a limited budget that would satisfy most of that cluster.
- The role of school leaders has become more multifaceted with a focus expanded beyond teaching and learning of children to include thinking broadly about community and working toward community cohesion. Participants argued that new ways of working and a new vision are expected from headteachers. While some school leaders were able to adjust to new educational policy demands quickly, others needed more time for that transformation.
- While a range of strategies were developed to engage with parents and community and to identify their needs, participants argued that the local authority should play a more proactive role in coordinating communication and sharing information between partners.

- Evidence from this study highlighted some good examples of providing the full core offer of extended services in schools. Overall, all participants saw the value and importance of the extended schools programme but it was problematic to evaluate its effectiveness separately from other government initiatives.

The next chapter will present and analyse findings which relate to leadership practices within inter-agency collaborative settings.

Chapter 6. Analysis of Data: Exploring Leadership Practices in an Inter-Agency Collaborative Context

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents analysis of the data concerning the participants' perceptions of leadership practices in an inter-agency collaborative context. Inter-agency activities raise important issues around how organizational relationships are structured and complex inter-personal and cultural issues are addressed. In this chapter I use Bolman and Deal's (2003) concept of organizational framing as a basis for analysing how participants perceived leadership practices. As discussed in Chapter Two above Bolman and Deal's (2003) concepts comprise structural, human resource, political and symbolic frames, which suggests that the same situation can be viewed in at least four different ways. Each frame will be used to discuss key aspects of the data, before drawing them together.

6.2 The Structural Frame

Findings presented in the structural frame emphasize the role of strategic coordination, communication mechanisms, clarity about roles and responsibilities and democratic processes within an inter-agency collaborative context.

6.2.1 Strategic Coordination

The data presented in Chapter 5 highlighted new management structures and new roles in the local authority, schools and partner agencies, that were developed as a result of the implementation of the extended schools programme. However, participants commented that a lack of coherent coordination was a big barrier to inter-agency work in the city. A respondent from a partner agency commented:

'I certainly feel the coordination is through the local authority. I do not have an issue with that, but it is more about: "Ok, what is everybody else's role in all of that?" and if they are to lead, and they also have to lead on determining how they would like other people to become involved and that is very different'. (Senior Manager, Voluntary organization)

Meanwhile, the Extended Services Manager at the local authority claimed that:

'...the strategic directions come from me, I am "the lead", because I give direction, I'm the one that does the infrastructure' (ES Manager, LA).

Despite that statement, the evidence from this study suggests that there was a lack of support from the local authority and there was not enough strategic oversight of the development of the extended schools programme in the city. For example, a nursery headteacher commented that 'practice is ahead of policy' and 'there is not that much support from above'. She said:

'The local authority, they do not really understand, I do not think, they just tick their boxes, designate the centres, get the extended services in, without really understanding the culture and the ethos of individual schools and communities as well, everyone is different. That has been a bit problematic...' (Headteacher, Daisy nursery school)

A similar argument was advanced by a respondent from Lantana secondary school who claimed that 'the local authority tends to look to us for advice and guidance' as the school had provided a range of activities for children, parents and the local community for a long time and had experience in inter-agency collaboration. Another respondent from this school felt that the authority 'works too much in little pockets rather than having an overall view':

'Where we don't think we're very successful at the moment is in the local authority having a clear understanding of our Extended Services offer, and linking it to their hopes for the future for Extended Services...There is room for improvement, and in order to look at any sort of cohesive offer then they need to be far more proactive in contacting large centres like us who are already doing a lot of the work that they hoped to'. (Art College Manager, Lantana secondary school)

The local authority was seen as a rather bureaucratic organization that to some extent brought a constraining factor rather than support to schools:

'I would have to say that I think they have centralised too much for my liking - I think they have tried to deliver services from the centre and I don't believe that that is how extended services should work. I think they have also not always worked through schools as much as they should have done'. (School Business Manager, Lantana secondary school)

Despite new structures developed in the local authority to support collaborative working, there was a view that inter-agency collaboration in the city was ad-hoc:

'I suppose leadership practice would revolve around a real drive as well as a commitment to developing existing structures, a lot of which are still ad-hoc, to secure a joined-up vision for extended school provision that everyone can subscribe to. At the moment, probably the vision is an evolving one, but it is driven within the school'. (Headteacher, Coroniola secondary school)

It can be seen from the data that there is a lack of agreement between participants' views of how best to organize the operational side of the extended schools programme. On the one hand, respondents did not see the top-down approach as an effective strategy; on the other hand, there is a strong claim about the importance of overall strategic coordination within an inter-agency collaborative context.

'...we need to ensure that the agendas are tied up and that we're working together to prevent silo working to make sure that we're all joined up and we need to observe that. That needs strategic oversight to see and strategically ensure how those agendas overlap and how agencies need to work together to achieve, sort of, the joined up outcomes'. (Manager, YOT)

To be able to manage different agendas and linking partner agencies the need for a strategic centre and/or organization was acknowledged by majority of respondents:

'There always needs to be a lead organization – there is no need to dispute that. But that lead organization probably needs to take a more facilitating angle than a delivery angle, how do they use their lead role to facilitate discussion and conversation with partners, to really draw out, what is the best way to deliver services to our communities rather than determine the approach to delivering services and ask people to support when necessary" (Senior Manager, Voluntary organization).

Most participants suggested that good working relationships between partners in inter-agency collaboration require clarity about roles, sharing responsibilities and accountability issues:

'... so its got to be a sharing of responsibilities as well, not just somebody saying, "we want you to do this, off you go and do it". It's got to be working together, so those type of working relationships could take time, so I think that's a big factor in it. You also need to have somebody who wants to drive it forward, so I think that you need to have that leadership within' (Manager, Sure Start)

This quote suggests that good working relationships require time to build up and need to be based on democratic processes. Equally leadership was recognised as a key factor.

Respondents claimed that it was challenging to reach agreement on mutual aims and a shared vision in a collaborative context. Nevertheless, interviewees suggested that it

could be realised through democratic practice which includes participatory decision-making and goal-setting at all levels:

'And if we have got a leadership model which says it is a democratic one, that the seven or eight people who sit round this table are supported in identifying priorities for their own school and through that process saying, well actually, four of us here have got very similar priorities, let's explore how we can meet those needs' (ES Remodelling Adviser, LA)

I observed some elements of democratic practice during a meeting of headteachers in a cluster where four people had to agree about the joint projects, funding and some other issues of common interest. Other examples of democratic practices were found during observations of inter-agency focus group meetings when representatives from a wide range of organizations were all able to contribute to discussion and decision-making.

6.2.2 Communication

The majority of respondents saw communication within the scheme as a problem. It was also noted by some respondents from partner agencies that at the moment they did not know very well the needs on the ground and 'they can't focus their intervention' (Manager, Sure Start). There was also a problem that agencies did not communicate with each other:

'We also find agencies are dreadful at communicating with each other. So there needs to be more inter-agency connections'. (Community Co-ordinator)

A similar argument was expressed by a respondent from the Health organization:

'... Information technology is a brilliant example of non co-operation and non-communication. We have all developed IT infrastructures separately, so we don't talk to each other, we can't share data very sensibly, we collect data differently, so if you look at the whole children's agenda and just say, "How do we do needs assessment based on evidence and data?" It's incredibly complex because we collate data based around GP practices, public health want to do it on areas and postcodes, schools want to do it on school communities... It's really complex'. (Manager, Health organization)

Inter-agency meetings were supposed to be an effective way of stimulating communication, but as a respondent commented:

'An inter-agency meeting might happen once a term, so that's four times a year, you might only get a head from each school going to one of those meetings, and then you have to patch in the meeting with them' (Manager, Sure Start).

This quote supports the earlier statement (see Chapter 5, section 5.3.) about the complexity and variability of membership within inter-agency committees and strategy groups.

Respondents stated that the communication problem was a result of poor management of the system:

'I think barriers are around information sharing protocols, database systems, contact points not being up in place. There's practical problems around systems not moving expediently towards a multi-agency agenda so that their systems don't talk to each other easily and staff on the ground are not always sure about what information can be shared. [...] I think most things can be overcome by strategic managers discussing those problems. I think the danger would be to leave staff struggling to know what they can and can't do in a vacuum with a multi-agency agenda, where they feel perhaps that other people aren't working in the same manner'. (Manager, YOT)

The majority of respondents from partner agencies experienced difficulties in communication with different community groups.

'They've got their own like culture groups... they don't really communicate with each other, if you do a big fun day they will go, but they won't interact with each other. It's really difficult'. (Community Co-ordinator)

Respondents suggested that communication mechanisms need to be improved: frank, open and frequent communication needs to be developed within inter-agency partnerships. It was noted that:

'If you don't have good communication, you forget to tell somebody something you can have a breakdown' (Manager, Tyler Children's Centre)

Another respondent claimed that leaders should be listening more to people within the organization and described her strategy at work as 'communication of the wider agenda':

'I also need to be saying the same things up to my Directors and spreading that information and that understanding to my colleagues who are working in the same Mental Health Services and at the same time to the field level staff, so I think it's a really good communication, and an understanding of what is appropriate communication at those levels' (Manager, Health organization)

Respondents from partner agencies noted that it is important to be 'open with information' and also do some marketing of services:

'Some people are less experienced, they need to have information. We need to be open with that information with other services, but also with parents as well'. (Manager, Sure Start)

This quote suggests a problem with adequate information and publicity about services in the local communities. A participant from the Tyler Children's Centre argued that good marketing helps agencies to be more visible in the city:

'We did a parenting stand in the city centre yesterday, and lots of people haven't heard of Sure Start or Extended Services. If people don't know you're there... it's about marketing'. (Manager, Tyler Children's Center)

Good information about services can prevent duplication and provide a better level of support for schools and the community. Some respondents felt that they and their organizations were playing the role of a 'messenger' or 'mediator', acting as boundary-crossing between schools, families, community and agencies:

'I mean we are walking books actually or walking diaries, because we'll find out things that are going on in one place, and we'll take it and tell somebody else about it. We're very much about sharing everything, because we're there for the community'. (Community Co-ordinator)

There is evidence that informal means of communication were more productive than formal ones:

'...so my assistant head might meet somebody and they say "we can do this" or "we can do that" and two months later we have got some new provision at the school that is not flowed from some formal structure whereby the local authority held the meeting and this, that and the other. I think probably the reality is that a significant amount of the developments are actually occurring through the informal communication'. (Headteacher, Coroniola secondary school)

Clear evidence emerged that informal modes of communication were seen as important between collaborators and the community. For example, a Community Co-ordinator commented that informal chats with parents were more effective than newsletters and/or brochures. Similarly, the headteacher from Daisy nursery school applied informal communication strategies by abolishing titles and calling teachers and parents by their first names. Overall, informal ways of communication seemed to be effective in building trusting relationships between collaborators and the community.

Based on gathered data, I concluded that there was a lack of strategic overseeing of different initiatives, how activities linked together and who provided coordination between partners in the city. Respondents warned about a danger of leaving people in an information vacuum and suggested the need for more communication of the wider agenda and more publicity for services. Furthermore, informal ways of communication were seen as most efficient within a collaborative context. Interesting evidence from this study is that professionals served as 'messengers' and/or 'bridging' different partners and groups together. Lastly, democratic principles were widely seen as needing to become the main working protocols in inter-agency collaborative settings.

6.3 The Human Resource Frame

The results from this study highlighted the following elements which will be presented and analysed under the human resource frame: issues related to the role of staff in the day-to-day work; the importance of professional development; the empowerment of people; and the role of trust within an inter-agency collaborative context.

6.3.1 *Lack of Staff*

A lack of available staff and the turnover of professionals were seen as a limiting factor in maintaining strong links between schools and partner agencies. The majority of respondents from schools said that they would achieve much more if they did not have to spend time building up new relationships when the old contacts had gone:

'I tend to find that you build a relationship with one headteacher and there are all sorts of things going on. That person goes and you start all again and I'm thinking of one school we had super links, the new headteacher's come, the links have gone again, and it takes a while to build them up. You can only do what they want to do – if people have other agenda issues – that is fair enough'. (Headteacher, Myosota primary school)

A respondent from a secondary school felt that:

'I think a lot more could be done, just because we have quite a fluctuating population, we have fluctuating teachers, we have fluctuating support workers, a lot of the knowledge at

the moment seems to be held with individuals'. (Curriculum coordinator, Coroniola secondary school)

It was stated that there were some schools where the staff did not see the relevance of the extended services programme and they have a kind of 'That is not our job!' attitude (Headteacher Daisy nursery school). Similarly, a respondent from the Tyler Children Centre commented:

'...some teachers say "well now we're expected to have a Breakfast Club, an After School Club, and we're just a school we're just here for educating children" (Manager, Tyler Children's Centre)

Staff and time were a big issue not just in schools but also in partner agencies. It was noted that 'you can't work 24 hours a day, you're not going to do it without a bigger team' (Manager, Tyler Children's Centre). Another informant said:

'... we have limited staff to do the roles because we commission a lot of our services [...] so for a core team to have to go out delivering services to find out what there in their local area you're starting to squeeze the staffing resource that you have, which means that you're going to have an impact on the quality of services you provide'. (Manager, Sure Start)

School staff were overloaded by extra work and had to balance between teaching and delivering the extended services activities.

'But that does not mean that we still do not get faced with difficult decisions about prioritising time, and particularly staff time. So the assistant head who leads on extended schools is head of mathematics – now, we must push up our mathematics results. So there is a constant how much time can I focus on this as opposed to that?' (Headteacher, Coroniola secondary school)

The Assistant head from Coroniola secondary school pointed out that 'extended services is a nice model, and this model would be good if it were the whole staff priority'. It was clarified that teachers are busy and there was tension in how to find time between teaching and running clubs and/or other extended services activities in the school.

6.3.2 Staff Volunteering

The evidence from this study showed that in all schools teaching staff were involved in the delivery of the extended services activities. School leaders were continually trying to find ways to encourage staff to get on board:

'When you are very open and cheerful, you have a bit of a joke with them, bring them in'.
(Headteacher, Myosota primary school)

Participants from schools said that the activities were mainly powered by goodwill and by people working voluntarily, as the work was not covered by their job specifications and they were not getting paid (see Chapter 5, section 5.7.2). For example, in Myosota primary school a number of key people got involved on a daily basis:

'Teachers agree to run clubs and that is managed by one person who has got responsibility through school. It is really set up and run through the school and a number of key people in the school take on the management of it. And it's the goodwill of staff...'.
(Headteacher, Myosota primary school)

Volunteer work played an important part in Coroniola secondary school:

'Volunteering is our main source of manpower. Another thing we have done is sort every reasonable opportunity to open the school such as today – and I am not going to be paid for being here... I am in charge of the school today for free' (Assistant head, Coroniola secondary school)

The head of Coroniola school commented that staff with different experience and background could contribute to the development of the programme:

'There is also an extended schools working group within the school on which a number of different staff who have different interests and come from different backgrounds are represented, they feed it into that group structure their thoughts about what needs to develop and how'. (Headteacher, Coroniola secondary school)

The data presented above suggest that volunteering and enthusiasm of school staff were essential for the extended schools programme to be delivered on the ground.

6.3.3 *Respect For The Needs of Staff*

The headteacher of Myosota valued staff goodwill and also made clear that it was not his intention to overload teaching staff:

'The only difficulty I would say, I would not ask people to do too much because I am very aware that it is not in their contract, it is their good will that they are offering. I think you do have to be careful with that. If I say to you, lots of the ladies here, and they have got their own families and many of them have got very young children and I think you've got to balance it and I would not ask them to come back for instance at the weekends to actually run a club'. (Headteacher, Myosota primary school)

On the one hand this quote suggests that the implementation of the extended schools policy was relying upon intensification of work rather than proper funding; on the other hand, there is evidence of genuine care for people.

Speaking about leadership qualities and skills, respondents pointed out that it is important to understand other people's weaknesses and strengths, it is also about openness, honesty, sensitivity and compassion.

The evidence from the study suggests that teachers were overloaded with tasks in order to provide the extended services activities for children. A respondent stated that 'it's voluntary for teachers to do' (Assistant Head, Myosota School). However, from the informal conversations during observation of clubs in schools some teachers explained that they were expected to run a club.

6.3.4 *Respect For Professional Development and Continuous Learning*

The data show that leaders working in an inter-agency collaborative context tried to support and encourage teachers' professional development. The assistant head in Myosota primary school was supported by the headteacher and learning mentor, and had received additional professional training:

'I went on a day's course in Onk, a couple of weeks ago to find out all about the funding, and actually what we need to do...' (Assistant head, Myosota primary school)

The data show that the headteacher of Myosota school used any available opportunity to encourage the leadership development of senior management team (SMT) in the school. Moreover, the headteacher himself received leadership training specifically tailored to leadership in a collaborative context:

'I like to think I train up my senior management team and I give them plenty of opportunities to take part in the extended schools programme. I make them aware of the wider nature of the Taffield city. I am an ex-graduate of "Common Purpose"⁶, which is a leadership group within the city. It is actually pretty well international now. But I had the opportunity of being the first headteacher...it was a group of 30 odd managers from the private, maintained and voluntary, equal split, and you had the chance to work together for a year. And I found that beneficial: it's opened my eyes to make me more aware of the benefits of working with other private, voluntary organizations in Taffield for the benefit of the town and particularly for the benefit of the Myosota school. So, I would like to think that I have broadened my horizons a bit; I don't just look in a blinkered way at what the needs of the Myosota school are. I try to broaden the horizons I've got and it's worked for our school. (Headteacher, Myosota primary school)

This quote also suggests that the headteacher believed in the effectiveness of inter-agency partnership working and that he strongly supported the extended schools programme.

The results illustrate that leaders had to re-think and learn how to work with people from diverse professional and cultural backgrounds. It was noted:

'Understanding other people is critical and knowing how to work with people with a wide range of attitudes, with a wide range of skills and abilities and knowing how to develop their leadership qualities is very important' (ES Remodeling Advisor, LA).

Throughout all of the conversations that took place in this study, all participants mentioned the importance of learning about other people's roles and how those roles fit together. A headteacher from Daisy nursery school commented that the leader within inter-agency setting has to be 'a bit of a lynchpin, holding things together but in an informal way if possible'.

When they were speaking about leadership qualities, interviewees mentioned the listening abilities of leaders:

⁶ **Common Purpose** is a not-for-profit organization that runs leadership development courses which mix people from the private, public and voluntary sectors

'I need to be a listening leader, I need to be someone that's saying, "tell me what you think, why doesn't that work?" because I haven't got the detailed information that they have on the ground. I think that's a really important message'. (Manager, Health organization)

The study confirms that contextual literacy (NCSL, 2007:5) is an important leadership quality. For example, a respondent from a partner agency commented that 'leadership on a practical level, on the ground, it is naturally about shared communications, engagement with residents and local population'. It was stated that leaders have to learn about community needs:

'I think information and knowledge is very important in terms of knowing what you want to achieve...Local knowledge is crucial to know what's there and as a consequence what needs to be done' (Art College Manager, Lantana secondary school).

A participant from the local authority suggested that leaders in inter-agency context need to learn to work for the common good:

'If we are talking about leadership qualities here, about the multi-agency environment, is about people who lead quite rightly some quite specialist areas of that are of a similar mind about what the bigger picture, they understand how they use their leadership abilities to lead one another and work together at the hub of that on behalf of the common good as opposed to. "Oh, well, we only do this, that and the other" – we want a "can do" approach as opposed to a very protective and defensive to change in particular'. (ES Remodelling Adviser, LA)

Of course, this quote also supports the view that collaborative working can be challenging.

6.3.5 Empowerment

The concept of 'empowerment' was often mentioned by participants while they were speaking about staff in their own organizations, *and/or* community members, and parents. One could argue that the notion of empowerment is a 'tricky' term. For example, on the one hand, teachers in schools were forced to contribute to the extended schools programme on a 'voluntary' basis, on the other hand their activity might be empowering others.

Headteachers get support through empowering people. For example, a headteacher described the following practice:

'We've decided that Sofia, who is one of our teachers, is going to take the role of the lead-pedagogue for the Children's Centre. She is taking over more of the "leading

learning" from me in the last couple of years. Though we do take a team or shared approach. But it has just been more practical really'. (Headteacher, Daisy nursery school)

Another example is the changing role of assistant headteachers in Myosota primary schools who often have to make decisions through the daily interactions with the staff, parents, members of the community and partner agencies and do not depend on approval and guidance from the headteacher.

'Staff will speak to me if they have an idea for a club or any other idea that they feel would benefit the children or the community and we will work together to try and make it happen' (Assistant headteacher, Myosota primary school).

Speaking about leadership in Lantana secondary school, participants described it as distributed⁷.

'The leadership is quite distributed. So, I take a lead on many of our community programmes like the leisure services, adult education and also on some of our work with partners (primary) schools and liaison with community organizations like the Parish Council, the residents' associations, that sort of thing. Other people take a lead on other areas. So the student well-being program has been led by one of the Vice Principals. We are a specialist performing arts school, so the assistant headteacher who leads that work also leads a lot of work with community organizations and partner schools in the arts. That means that it is not all focused in one person but it does also mean that sometimes we could be doing things that do not necessarily fit together as well as they might. So I think we have a bit of work we need to do to integrate and to collaborate and coordinate'. (School Business Manager, Lantana secondary school)

This quote also shows that in Lantana school distributed leadership was associated with a range of activities that were allocated to other staff members empowered to fulfill this action of distribution. Moreover, as described earlier (see Chapter 5, section 5.4), work overload impacted on the decision to employ an extended service manager to help with the development of the extended services in Lantana school and with building links with partner agencies and the community.

The headteacher of Coroniola secondary school used the notion of 'delegation' and he did not explicitly describe leadership in the school as 'distributed':

'I have not got time to focus on it directly and to do the detailed work with other agencies and organizations, I have delegated that to an assistant headteacher who reports to the leadership team and reports to the governors, community and curriculum committee' (Headteacher, Coroniola secondary school)

⁷ I am using the terms in ways that the respondents have used them, rather than in relation to the literature about leadership.

Furthermore, it was also stated that all staff in Coroniola school had an opportunity to contribute to the development of the extended schools programme in alignment with their professional interests:

'...It would often happen that staff on my leadership team would attend different meetings, so my assistant head who is in charge of inclusion would probably be the most likely person to represent school at a meeting with social services, whereas another assistant head, or curriculum leader, might attend if it was a meeting in terms of the development of pre-school sport provisions or something like that'. (Headteacher, Coroniola secondary school)

The Assistant head from Coroniola school commented that there is a strategic group in the school and anyone from the staff is allowed to contribute (see section 5.4.):

'Teachers are very busy, so we have about 6 people, sometimes 10 sometimes 3 teachers at the meeting. I have a degree of autonomy to make a decision but if there is a sensitive question, I discuss it and put it forward to the senior leadership team to say "yes" or "no". (Assistant head, Coroniola secondary school)

This quote suggests that although the assistant head had some degree of autonomy, the common practice for important issues was discussion with members of the senior leadership team.

While discussing distributed leadership, respondents were concerned about the extent of 'distribution' within the inter-agency collaborative context. A participant from Lantana commented:

'I think it gets harder the further afield, the wider you spread the distribution. We have worked with some of our partner schools where they have taken a lead and we have supported an activity and vice versa. It gets more difficult if you are not seeing people regularly. I don't know how wide you could spread that, and I think that it is a bit of an issue with leadership at the authority level because we do not see enough of each other, we are not sharing, it is not really a distributed leadership model - it is a top-down model. I think you need to keep it fairly tight, you need to be able to see people informally, regularly, just to chat about things. So, I would not want to go too much wider than, for example, the campus and the surrounding, partner schools'. (School Business Manager, Lantana secondary school)

This quote highlights the 'nature' of distribution and its limitations. It links to the ideas discussed above in the structural frame. Overall, this discussion of distributed leadership within empowerment links closely to both the structural and human resource frames. Furthermore, the quote supports the earlier statements about the importance of regular communication, sharing information and clarity about joint plans.

The results from this research suggest that the majority of participants supported the idea of 'empowering' communities (see Chapter 5, section 5.7.5):

'That's all about empowerment and making people feel worthwhile' (Community Co-ordinator)

Respondents from schools commented that they would like 'to have more parents' representation in a Children's Centre Committee' (Head, Daisy nursery school), and Myosota school managed to engage with parents and community members who run some activities on the school site (see Chapter 5, section 5.7.3). While social events, parents' evenings, visits and other activities can be a good way of building positive relationships with parents, it is doubtful they can do much to empower parents and community members. It was also a challenge for school staff to see parents and community members as equal partners and not as outsiders, and there was also an issue about where responsibility rested.

An interesting example of empowerment was presented in the Extended Services Team in the local authority. The Extended Services Strategy Manager noted that his team had a specialism which was helpful while working within inter-agency collaborative context:

'What I try and do within my team is to set up staff to have specialisms, so each member of Extended Services team will have a specialism, so we'd have John for instance in specialism in Sports and Leisure, Michelle would be Health and also Disabilities. We have one for Parenting, we have one for Childcare, so what I'm trying to do is to give the team themselves the opportunity to be involved in high level thinking, and be involved in decision-making.... I'm involved in those meetings, but also I've stepped out of some of those meetings to enable the staff to be involved, because when John has a sporting background, he might be better to be involved in that discussion to help him to bring resources into the community'. (ES Manager, LA)

Furthermore, he added:

'Within the team they all lead, and there are different times that I sit back and listen to the team, because they're leading on their expert area, their specialism [...] I know what works for me, but what works for me may not work for them, and as leaders they need to say "this is what we want to do, what do you think Paul?", and that's what leaders should do'. (ES Manager LA)

It can be seen from the whole section above that working in an inter-agency collaborative context has changed the traditional roles, responsibilities and hierarchies of people in

organizations. This evidence suggests that inter-professional training and coaching could best prepare people with the knowledge and skills necessary for effective collaborative practice.

6.3.6 The Role of Trust

Challenges of trust building

The data show that complex management structures developed in the city with multiple layers of committees and strategy groups. However, the complexity surrounding membership status was seen as a barrier to the development of trusting relationships between partners. Furthermore, the unequal distribution of funding and the nature of power relationships also contributed to mistrust. Some interviewees from partner agencies commented on the fear of others taking one's resources when working in partnership:

'People thinking that you are going to take the money if you work in partnership and you are at the defining level then you might want the money as well, or you might want to deliver that service or it becomes very protective over specific agendas and that is not particularly healthy. It needs to be above that level, we need to determine what services, what approaches to service delivery will create better outcomes and then look at, who is most appropriate to deliver it'. (Senior Manager, Voluntary organization).

Lack of trust was compounded by a lack of skills and commitment:

'Trust can be a barrier: if people do not trust each other and not having most skills is a barrier; not having a commitment to taking on that or not seeing the benefits, if you do not see the benefits of working together as a team, then that can be a barrier to successful leadership because you do not want to engage with that.' (Social worker, Social service)

A respondent from the local authority pointed out that in some schools the governing body mistrusted the local authority because they assumed there was a hidden agenda:

'You have headteachers that want to be involved with Extended Services because they see the benefit, but you see some governing bodies that don't want to be involved because [...] they were so much into thinking that it was a trap [...] they have this issue with the local authority, thinking the authority has a hidden agenda, when Extended Services doesn't'. (ES Manager LA)

The evidence from this study suggests that some schools did not want to engage with the extended schools programme because there was insufficient trust towards the local authority initiatives and/or bureaucracy.

Participants were in agreement that trust is vital in any aspect of the inter-agency collaboration. The data gathered in this study highlighted some examples of trusting relationships between partners.

Evidence of building trusting relationships by schools

Respondents commented that it is very difficult and time-consuming to build trusting relationships. Some participants argued that trust has to grow step-by-step and that mutual recognition of mistakes and reflection on the results of a joint project helped partners to trust each other and to work together on a new level. A school Business Manager from Lantana secondary school commented:

'I think trust comes from working together. Sharing successes and failures together, there will be things that do not work. To give an example, two years ago we worked closely with the youth service locally and a couple of other local agencies, to organise some school holiday programmes for young people, for 13 to 16 years olds. We all put a lot of time and energy into it, and some money, we invested quite a lot of ourselves in it. But it did not really work, we didn't get the activities right, we didn't get the marketing right, the young people didn't come for whatever reason. And we all felt afterwards that we had failed, that we had not succeeded in delivering what we thought was needed. But what came out of it, I think, was a far better understanding of what each other can bring to the party, we have worked together very happily since... We got to know each other as a group, we liked each other, we worked well together, even though what we did was not successful. So I think that builds some trust and we have moved on from that to deliver other things together'. (School Business Manager, Coroniola secondary school)

The data show that trust building depends on history of good reputation and behaviour.

'It is the fact of a good track record. People have got confidence in us. I have been here a long time, so people know me and they do trust me to some degree, there is no doubt about that. You do need continuity. The last thing this school needs is two minute wonders, people coming and going all the time, because I think that's when things break down. They know that we will make things work, we have got a good relationship in the community and I think that is why people bring in all these ideas. That's what I like to think anyway' (Headteacher, Myosota primary school)

The evidence gathered from Myosota and Daisy schools highlighted a high level of trust between headteacher and teachers. Furthermore, trusting relationships in those schools helped to motivate teachers' involvement in the extended services programme.

The importance of building trust with community and parents was stated by all respondents. As already mentioned above, the headteacher from Daisy school used a

range of ways to engage with parents and community and did 'try to create that culture of partnership'.

Coroniola secondary school was running a community gathering and community breakfasts with the aim of building trusting relationships with parents and community.

'It gives everybody a chance to see what everybody else is doing...I run mentoring projects as well, which rely on the community members'. (Curriculum Coordinator, Coroniola secondary school)

A notion of an 'open' school where parents and community members are welcome was developed and employed by staff in Myosota and Lantana schools. An assistant headteacher from Myosota school commented:

'...the biggest thing is to make yourself available and gain reputation as a school who wants to be involved in many projects' (Assistant head, Myosota primary school)

According to some respondents from schools, trust and collaboration in many instances were advanced by the presence of formal agreements or clear protocols for agencies working on the same site, such as a Service Level Agreement (SLA).

'We're very clear about the activities that we offer, what they cost. In many places we will put in what we call a service level agreement to ensure that both sides are fully aware of expectations and understandings about what they're giving and what they're receiving, and I think that what is more important than anything is that both sides clearly understand those two aspects, what is being done on their behalf, and what they expect to be done on their behalf'. (Art College Manager, Lantana secondary school)

An assistant head from Coroniola school stated that a SLA helped to maintain reliability:

'...Service level agreement - is a level of services we both agreed, the standards of services they have to provide. Some of the people you work with they say they can do this and sometimes they are really great but sometimes they do not turn up one week or do not turn up another week... Some of the providers we work with are not always being reliable... This is very dangerous when you work with children especially after school nights when it is dark'. (Assistant Head, Coroniola secondary school)

In addition to SLA participants said that in their daily practice they rely on the professionalism of the people they work with:

'I think over time trust has been built up, and I'm thinking particularly of sexual health we brought in, and because nurses are working to Fraser guidelines and we have our own confidentiality policy...but in practice it has worked quite well. We rely on professionalism, we trust people and I personally quite confident that everyone we work with has the best interests of the students at heart'. (Curriculum coordinator, Coroniola secondary school)

A similar argument about the importance of professionalism was advanced by a headteacher from Myosota school:

'If somebody came along and said, oh we're going to organise such and such, and then they're not there next week, to be honest with you, we wouldn't look at them again. The trust, you do have to establish yourself, there's no doubt about it... Up to now we have not been let down. We have trust in people and they've had the confidence to make sure it works'. (Headteacher, Myosota primary school)

The data presented above reveal that trust takes time to build and people prefer to start with a low-risk initiative which would help to test the partner's reliability. Furthermore, SLA formal protocols can be a starting point. Nevertheless, there is always likely to be a tension between any goal of 'community self-development' and 'professionalism'.

Evidence of building trusting relationships by the local authority

Respondents from the local authority described some examples of work aimed at building trusting relationships with schools and partner agencies. For example, 'tranche workshops' were organised for clusters of schools and different key partners that work with clusters. The aim was to give them an understanding of the extended services programme, and how they can contribute to that initiative.

'... the tranche workshops, it's basically we're Extended Services here to support and this is what we do. And it's the same message to everybody, so whether you're a Headteacher or governor, or whether you're a volunteer within the community, you're all invited along, you all get the same advice, and everybody gets treated the same. So we started to build up trust through that way. Other ways that we build up trust we'll go along either being invited or invite ourselves to as many meetings as we can. We work closely with Parish Councils who 9 times out of 10 have quite a good rapport with the community'. (ES Cluster Co-ordinator, LA)

The local authority organised an extended schools conference in September 2007 and invited a range of people from schools, partner agencies, and key actors involved in the programme. A respondent from the local authority commented that the conference was a good starting point for building trusting relationships between schools and partner agencies.

The data highlighted an example of attempting to build trust when a representative from the local authority assisted in establishing links between a Somali community group, a

local school, and EMAS (Ethnic Minority Achievement Support) to deliver a homework and study club in a school to children from four up to twelve years old. The school's pupils speak more than 30 languages as their mother tongue and they needed language and homework support and an after school study club:

'...we are in that process as Extended Services trying to get a feeling of trust between the Somali group leaders, school, EMAS and ourselves so that they feel comfortable to actually come into the school to deliver the homework support and study support and also linking it nicely with the school curriculum'. (ES Cluster Co-ordinator, LA)

However, as already discussed above, a lack of time for regular meetings and discussion of objectives and expectations was a big barrier in trust building:

'Part of the problem sometimes where trust does not come about is that particularly from meetings, but when there is not enough time to get a deeper understanding of, what is it you were actually going to do? What does it look like? I thought you were going to do "x", "y" and "z" and you have done "a", "b" and "c". And then the trust breaks down very, very quickly. And I won't do that again' (ES Remodelling Advisor, LA)

The Extended Service Cluster Co-ordinator commented that breaking down mistrust and suspicion between partners could be achieved through informal chat and showing people that the main aim is to help and assist them and not to dictate what to do:

'You'll go in, you'll sit down, you'll have a cup of coffee, you'll talk about personal stuff, football, because they're seeing more that we're not there to tell them to do stuff, we're there to help them and advise them. So we've got more a personal relationship with the schools now which is great, because that means that we're being accepted'. (ES Co-ordinator LA)

There is strong evidence that building trusting relationships is effective on a personal level. Overall, building trust facilitates effectiveness in relation to collaborative goals and activities.

Evidence of building trusting relationships by partner agencies

The Every Child Matters agenda was seen as a linking mechanism for joined-up working:

'I think trust should be implicit in what we do... because the expectation should be, we are working to meet the ECM outcomes, to reduce the risks of children being at risk, of being vulnerable children, children falling through the net' (Manager, YOT)

Respondents stated that an integrated approach to service provision for children requires trusting relationships between partners:

'The idea of trust is absolutely crucial to any multi-agency process, not only extended schools process. So, often requests are being made from one agency to another agency in order to meet a particular goal. For example, when I'm working with a family, I'm trying to use an identification of needs to then lead to a provision of services and part of that is using either my assessment or my colleague's from a different agency's assessment about what service would be best and therefore that kind of trust is key, so that when we have communication between agencies saying, I think we should be involved here, that that is taken respectfully and that then happens. So that rather than each agency having to make its own decision about that, you get a kind of team-work approach where we have got that level of trust and we can take that forward and come and be involved'. (Social worker, Social Service)

This quote supports the ideas discussed above that good communication between partners (as well as professionalism) helps in building trusting relationships.

Further strategies of trust building

Participants shared their perceptions of how trust could be built and sustained within an inter-agency collaborative context. Respondents commented that partners have to be clear from the start what the aims and objectives are, what the expectations of each organization are, and if there are any obligations to each other. It was noted:

'It is about setting up clear boundaries and expectations' (Manager, Community & Safety Partnership)

A similar argument was advanced by a respondent from a partner organization:

'If any organization, any sector, any individual is going to become involved in something, they would need to know what is expected of them, what would their role be. If everybody else's role is made clear from the start, then it is very easy to define where you see that partnership going. I think that leads to a much healthier position' (Senior Manager, Voluntary organization)

Overall trust building, according to participants in this study, is about having a true understanding of what partnership means. Trust is about joint responsibility. Participants stated that honesty, openness and respect for different cultures and respect between partners are strengths of collaboration:

'I think it's firstly about learning and knowledge, and that's really very important, so you won't be able to develop trusting relationships unless you can really have a deeper understanding of the culture that we all come from, and each other's cultures and literally talking about maybe sometimes using the same words, and actually mean quite different things, so it's a much deeper, shared understanding and recognition of everyone's contribution to the agenda of improving the outcomes of children and families'. (Manager, Health organization)

The data generally show a view about trust that involves honesty, learning and knowledge but that also relies on clear expectations such as expressed by a SLA. The quote immediately suggests a form of negotiation between partners as they learn more about each other and become ready to lay aside some of their concerns and ideas.

The need for flexibility, regular contacts, and continuity in order to help to build trusting relationships appeared in several responses. A respondent from the local authority noted that trust comes from working and planning together and a willingness to share:

'That is a part of the problem with this change agenda, that people who engage in it, by just sort of "scratching" the surface, get disappointed and disillusioned very quickly, and they won't go there again, particularly headteachers, because they are very vulnerable when things go wrong... Promotion and trust and sustaining trusting relationships have to be through continual encouragement to "going back, try again, do it again". Because people are often asked to behave in different ways in order to get things like agreement, and not be defensive and protective of their territory, they have to be open-minded and willing to share'. (ES Remodeling Adviser LA)

Another respondent from the local authority commented that trust is about building a credible service:

'...strategically you have to be very clear about what your group, what your team are trying to do, and what your aim is, so it's about having the credibility there, because once you lose credibility with Heads, with anybody it's hard to gain it back. We're trying to build a credible service. Trust is part of that'. (ES Manager, LA)

Participants from schools commented that networking, ability to share benefits with other schools and/or partners support the development of trust.

'If we have access to a really good resource to support our extended school agenda, then we need to think whether, for example, that same resource might also offer benefits to other schools within our cluster of schools' (Headteacher, Coroniola secondary school)

The results from this study highlighted a dilemma for practitioners on the ground, when on the one side they felt they had to trust each other and work hard to build trust, whilst on the other side, there were possibilities for mistrust because of competition for funding and unequal ability to control the overall pattern of joint activities.

In summary, the above evidence highlights a central role for teachers in the implementation of the extended services activities in schools. Because of a shortage of

human and financial resources teachers volunteered their time and run some clubs for children. This act of goodwill was respected and valued by school leaders who simultaneously were cautious not to overload teachers more. Furthermore, the data reveal that while in some schools volunteering and goodwill were drivers of the initiative, in other schools staff had the attitude 'That's not our job!'

The results highlighted the importance of learning and further professional development both for leaders and the staff in schools and partner agencies. It was apparent that leaders have to learn how to build, sustain and manage relationships with the community and with partners.

Another important aspect of the human resource frame is the idea of empowering staff, parents and community members. The main principle behind empowerment identified in this study was to increase productivity, engagement and ownership of the initiatives by developing people's confidence in their own capacities.

This study indicates that building a trusting relationship with parents and partners is the key to having an effective inter-agency working. The data suggest that in schools where teachers showed a high level of trust in a headteacher, staff were more motivated and engaged with the extended services initiatives. Furthermore, schools with a high level of trust between the headteacher and teachers were more open to working with parents and the community. A good track record and previous history of partnership working supported the development of trusting relationships. The results suggest that headteachers who trust their fellow heads in a cluster of schools were more ready to share information and resources for mutual benefits.

Participants from partner agencies agreed that the ECM agenda and the aim to work for the benefit of children and the community was the connective factor between different agendas. Professionalism and formal protocols (e.g. SLA) support trust building

strategies. Despite the fact that the majority of respondents from schools were critical about the bureaucracy of the local authority, the data highlighted some examples when the local authority played a central role in linking and bridging different organizations and groups.

6.4 The Political Frame

The evidence from this study is presented under the following subsections: evidence relating to politics and power as an integral part of everyday school life; evidence relating to factors affecting funding of the extended schools initiative; evidence relating to power sharing; and evidence relating to the role of networking in an inter-agency collaborative context.

6.4.1 Politics And Power As a Part of Everyday Organizational Life

The main focus of the political frame here is on the power relationships and power sharing between partners in an inter-agency collaborative context. Clear evidence emerged that school leaders felt pressure from the central government and simultaneously had to balance power relationships with parents, external partners, and community members. The data highlighted the complexity in government educational initiatives that brought some tensions on the ground in understanding and dealing with them. It was claimed that the central government did not take into account local issues and the people who are actually doing the job:

‘...Somebody has an idea and they just do it. They want to ask the people who are doing the job what is important. The central government does not look at the local issues and the people who are actually doing the job that has been the main problem’.
(Headteacher, Myosota primary school)

Furthermore, the headteacher commented:

‘...I’ve had a lot of people trying to cut my legs off while I’ve been doing the job... not locally, not in the town, it is the national agenda they don’t work together, agencies don’t work together. For instance, Ofsted and Sure Start – we got all mixed messages: silly

things like children here need milk, so what do they do – because of the obesity issue they've made it half fat, young children need full fat milk'. (Headteacher, Myosota primary school)

This suggests that school leaders had to navigate between national statutory initiatives and local situations including the needs of their schools. A respondent from the local authority described a complex picture of organizations they were working with:

'We're involved in lots of different groups. We link up with the Community Safety Partnerships, Taffield Cohesion Team, Community Cohesion. The Youth Offender Group will be well aware of the needs of young people. Community Cohesion is well aware of the needs within Taffield to pull different communities together, and the Community Safety Partnership Group has a duty for the safety of communities, so they've got their different strategies, and they've got their Neighbourhood Action Groups as well that feed in so you've got the issues coming out of communities such as anti-social behaviour, violence, all those sorts of issues as well, so we get our information from the school, and we link up then to the other priorities that there are around within the community, and that's how we then build up on projects to make sure that 'yes' one is ticking the boxes for the school, it's helping them but most of the issues within a school are issues within a community' (ES Cluster Co-ordinator, LA)

Interestingly, this quote shows that on one side, the Cluster Co-ordinator tried to link different groups, agencies and schools together, but on the other side, clear evidence emerges of a 'ticking boxes' mentality of some people involved in inter-agency collaboration. One can say that 'ticking-boxes' is a very managerialist, technicist approach to collaboration. For example, a Cluster Co-ordinator commented that:

'...when you're partnership working you're all responsible and you only get involved in a project when you know that its ticking your boxes basically, so you're always responsible for your own part aren't you?' (ES cluster Co-ordinator, LA)

In contrast, the Community Co-ordinator pointed out that the task was to work with all partners regardless of any differences:

'We haven't got any hidden agendas, we don't work for the Parish, we haven't got tick boxes. We're just unselfish with the information we've got, so that's why we do so good at what we do' (Community Co-ordinator)

The 'ticking boxes' attitude raised some questions about a genuine collaboration within an inter-agency partnership: whether people collaborate because it is worthwhile educationally and for the community, or because it has to be done for the money? This attitude relates to the issues of trust and power among partners.

The results from this study highlighted a number of new formal (i.e. an organizational chart in the local authority see section 5.3, Figure 1) and informal (i.e. a hierarchy of importance between heads who are nominally equals) hierarchical structures. These elements to some extent caused power ambiguities.

'There are so many different partners involved. Overall power within the cluster ideally should be the Lead Head, where they do not to have power over the schools, but just to be there to support and advise. Overall power within Taffield city as a strategy would be Extended Schools Strategy Manager, and then overall power over the rest of the departments in Taffield ... but 'yeah' it's a funny one there's no one person really who gets overall power, because it links in with so many different things' (ES Cluster Coordinator LA)

The quote shows a bureaucratic view of power that does not really pay attention to informal networks and power relationships involved. Furthermore, the role of the Lead headteacher seems ambiguous because as the ES Remodelling Advisor stated: 'the lead headteacher should not independently be making decisions about what are priorities and what not'. Consequently, power relationships have a multidimensional character within an inter-agency collaborative context.

6.4.2 Funding Issues

The majority of respondents in this study commented that power lies with funding and financial resources. People noted that the funding for the development of Extended Services and Sure Start Children's Centres was held by the local authority. However, a respondent from a Health organization stated that there was a lack of resources directed through the National Health Service, Primary Care Trust, Commissioners and others for the implementation of the initiatives:

'That means that health providers are in a different position because there is no ring-fenced money for the delivery of Sure Start, whereas there is a very clear stream of funding, and clear authority within children's local authority services, within Director of Children's Services, but not so in health or within the third sector, and obviously the commissioning of work from health and the third sector is vital, so for example nationally third sector organizations have been commissioned to deliver and to ensure Children Centre agenda, and I think that's totally appropriate, but you have to say that inevitably the power lies where the financial resources have been targeted in the agenda'. (Manager, Health organization)

Meanwhile, a respondent from the Extended Services Team confirmed that the extended schools programme provided resources for additional, related activities that are not strictly 'extended services':

'...lots of new initiatives are coming into local authorities through Extended Services, and one of them is something called the Parent Support Advisor money and posts, and that funding comes through Extended Services, and we work with this School Improvement Team to help to embed that into various schools in Taffield, so a lot of money is coming through Extended Services' (ES Strategy Manager, LA)

However, participants from schools expressed concern about the ambitious character of the extended schools programme without enough money coming into it, especially in schools serving disadvantaged communities. The assistant headteacher from Coroniola school described challenges that the school faced:

'We got a low budget to pay for 67 extra things that are going on in the school. We get £10,000 to divide between 10 schools. It is difficult to get any extra funding from other providers. Now with the credit crunch – we are not engaging firms ... In the school trainers are paid around £30 each, they have to rent the space, which is about 25 or 30 pounds per hour on the free market – we give them rent for nothing – the idea of getting funding is for doing something... a small unit like a class – they immediately need to charge 30 kids 4 pounds an hour... Most of the parents around here particularly this side of the building cannot afford a pound for their kids to do something for an hour. Equally students that live on that side of the road are quite affluent so, there is competition with city centre activity leisure centre' (Assistant head, Coroniola secondary school)

A lack of resources in some schools prevented them from being pro-active in working with partner agencies:

'For example, everyone wants a slice of what the Taffield football club can offer, everyone would like Taffield-Galactic basketball to be involved occasionally in a school, but they're finite resources'. (Headteacher, Coroniola secondary school)

The results showed that all schools were dependent on the funding allocated in the local authority for the development of the extended services on the ground. In addition, the local authority implemented a strict accountability mechanism. The headteacher from a nursery school described it:

'For example, with finance – obviously we have a fully delegated budget for the school - we have had for years. We are perfectly capable of managing that. But the school's finance people at the local authority are fiercely critical about any aspect of the school's money being spent on anything else, even if we get the money back, they frown upon that. They want things to be kept completely separately. In many ways it would make it easier if we could have the whole Children's Centre budget delegated to the governors but maybe that is where we will go in the long term. At the moment we are having to operate two different systems so that is a bit ... it just takes time really, it takes a lot of the time of the bursar – she has got a busy full time job already'. (Headteacher, Daisy nursery school)

This quote shows the complexity that schools faced because of multiple formal financial accountabilities. Furthermore, the quote supports the view that an organization that holds a budget has more influence on the agenda; and that leaders working within an inter-agency context have to manage conflict resolution between demands of a new inter-agency environment and old bureaucratic practices.

The respondent from the local authority stated that clusters of schools have to bid for funding and the money could not be equally divided between schools because each school has different needs and capacity.

'...It's not management by consensus, its management by the way that resources need to be allocated to different geographical clusters. If it was management by consensus then the Extended Services budget would just be divided up, you know every school would have x amount of money, even the small schools with 35 children on a roll which wouldn't be fair'. (ES Manager, LA)

According to the Extended Services Manager, school heads would not be able to acknowledge that in relation to a particular policy some schools had more to do than others and, therefore, needed a larger amount of money than others. A headteacher from Myosota primary school described his approach to by-passing this problem:

'I know I can go to ES cluster coordinator and say: "Listen, we have got an idea" and they will probably try and fund it. Very often then I'll try to make sure that the families pay a contribution towards it. It need not cost an awful a lot' (Headteacher, Myosota primary school)

As already discussed above (see Chapter 5), participants from schools did not really value the effectiveness of cluster working. It seems there was more tension than benefits between partners because of the funding issues.

During a meeting in a cluster of schools I observed an example of a 'coalition' building when headteachers were trying to convince an ES cluster co-ordinator to divide money equally between schools rather than invest in a joint project involving all schools from this cluster. Schools had different needs and it was not easy to agree about some joint extended services activities.

The issue of allocating government funding influenced aspects of service delivery on the ground. A respondent from the health organization commented:

'...so we're in a very much turbulent organizational change driven by these principles of taking the power away from providers and vesting it in bodies who have the responsibility for the outcomes, in our case the services for children, or the educational attainment for example, as a string of that outcome, and are answerable to government, through regional organizations to central government, and that's quite a change that's happening, whether that will be found to be effective, whether in fact the plurality of providers will raise quality standards and cost effectiveness I think is yet to be tested and evidenced, so that is the theory by dividing if you like the power and the responsibility from delivery, and that's being very simplistic that will ensure better outcomes is still untested' (Manager, Health organization)

The quote above highlights a complex and challenging process of change that affected schools and partner agencies involved in an inter-agency collaborative working.

Clear evidence emerged that school leaders had to think hard about where to obtain additional funding for providing extended services activities. Thus, they had to develop their entrepreneurial skills and knowledge of finance while working within inter-agency collaborative settings.

6.4.3 Power Relationships Between Schools and Partner Agencies

Respondents from schools noted that with 'a hierarchical force from above' (i.e. national and local governments) they do not have very much power. On the other hand, school leaders when approaching partner agencies were able to decide for themselves who are the 'right' partners:

'In finding an agency we have power, to start working with them... if it is a private firm we have no need to work with them... especially if they are not good... We are happy to work with them if they are good... They need to support our aims which are supporting children, and supporting their achievement and their studies and their well-being'. (Assistant head, Coroniola secondary school)

A respondent from Lantana secondary school pointed out that they had enough power and control in selecting partner organizations:

'I suppose there is control in that we can say "yes" or "no", we can control access from external agencies into the campus and the students and our parents and our community. And we do exercise a certain amount of control. We would look to develop the relationship at the leadership level before we say, "Ok, here you go, feel free". I think that is important, it would be easy to abuse that control and just say "no" to everything and that is not what we want to do. But ultimately we have to be sure that what somebody else is suggesting, proposing, offering, is for the benefit of our students and our community. We would want to be convinced of that before we open the doors'. (School Business Manager, Lantana secondary school)

As the data reveal, headteachers controlled the relationships with partner agencies and heads felt fully responsible for opening access for partners to work on the school site. For example, a headteacher from Coroniola school said:

'...Any development in provision has got to be something I am comfortable with, something I think will benefit the school and our students, something I think is consistent with our overall vision. So in a sense it won't happen unless I am happy with it'. (Headteacher, Coroniola secondary school)

A similar argument was advanced by the headteacher from Myosota primary school:

'We are fairly in control of the way it works. It would be nice to see it develop more but we are fully aware that we are the ones that are pushing it. If it was not for us it would not happen'. (Headteacher, Myosota primary school)

These quotes highlighted again the importance of trusting relationships in collaborative settings. The data suggest that school leaders had undertaken strict scrutiny of partner organizations before granting them access into the schools. Schools also paid partners for activities they approved on the site.

'Where I buy a service in like Sport Support, I've managed it, but the coordination of it in an area, that is down to the Extended Schools team'. (Headteacher, Myosota primary school)

The relationships between schools and partner agencies were not always smooth. For example, the headteacher from Daisy school said that health visitors were taking a 'gentle approach' to inter-agency working:

'The actual local health visitors who are going to be working with us, they are not so keen. I think, it depends on the individuals really, some people are more community minded, and others are more comfortable with blurring the boundaries, and some people are a bit more rigid. I think at a high level there is a commitment from the health people to work with us...' (Head, Daisy nursery school)

Respondents commented on political games and personalities as a barrier to collaboration between local schools. One example of how personal aspects affected the partnership work was described by the Community Co-ordinator:

'There's three schools altogether, but there's two schools that are literally like this, on one side of the road and you could throw a stone from one door to the next. They don't work together, it's bizarre, and they could achieve so much more because that's a feeder school, so they need to be working together, but politics etc, a clash of personalities, they don't, so that rubs off on the community ... but again its going to take forever to knock that down. We've tried, we do try, we try and get meetings together with all of them. Some don't turn up... and what upsets me is it's for the good of the community that we're doing it for, and we're all supposed to be looking out for that'. (Community Co-ordinator,)

The issue of politics also affected the effectiveness of collaboration between schools in clusters:

'...you may just within your cluster have certain schools that don't want to work with each other for political reasons. You may have schools that don't want to work with certain partners because they've been let down in the past. You may have partners that don't want to work together because they just don't get on'. (ES Co-ordinator, LA)

Despite the fact that schools and partner agencies had to collaborate the data reveal that in reality there was more competitiveness than collaboration:

'Schools may try, the competition, if you like, that they may feel that they are the best-placed person to deliver activities and can be quite defensive around other people providing similar activities and again other barriers can often be the defensiveness or competitiveness between partner agencies that want to deliver services in an area, competing against each other rather than thinking about what the needs of the community are. It is perhaps not clear aims and objectives. If you are not clear about who is doing what and what we are there for' (Project Manager, Community Safety Partnership)

The results also highlighted some practices by which school leaders were trying to reach agreements through discussion, negotiation and compromising with key partners and stakeholders. The headteacher from Daisy school commented:

'There is not much point in kicking and screaming, you just have to try and bring people with you... you just have to meet people where they are and bring them on from there' (Headteacher, Daisy nursery school)

Respondents from partner agencies felt that they have quite an amount of power to pull some key people around the table when they needed to do it. But ultimately, if headteachers do not want some agencies going into their schools, then they have the

right to say 'No', unless it is something statutory. However, in terms of informal power and networking another point of view was expressed:

'...often it is the receptionist that you have most contact with, because the receptionist knows more about what is going on than the headteacher does sometimes, and there are key teachers usually' (Community Co-ordinator)

Participants stated that working in inter-agency collaboration it is important to avoid political confrontation between different agencies:

'The other thing is to try to avoid political agendas and certainly that is one of the strategies that I try to take is to ensure that everyone who sits round the table together takes off any political hat that they wear and that we are here for the good of the community and not for any political agendas that we have. Again, it is important to recognise that there will always be political influence, but it is being able to know when to use it and when not'. (Project Manager, Community Safety Partnership)

The view was expressed that the Parish Council, and community and voluntary organizations have power and flexibility while working within an inter-agency collaborative context. Participants also commented that communities have a lot of power but people do not know how to use it:

'So if the community knew what they were entitled I think they would be knocking the doors down to get hold of it, but I don't think they know what they are entitled to. You know 'knowledge is power' springs to mind'. (Manager, Sure Start)

Respondents stated that sometimes partner organizations have problems because communities get too involved. The data reveal an issue of balancing power relationships between 'no engagement' and 'over engagement' of communities. A Community Co-ordinator commented:

'...my estate is so transient, people coming in and going. A lot of them have been placed *there temporarily*, and they don't want to get involved. They don't really communicate with each other is if you do a big fun day they will go, but they won't interact with each other. It's really difficult, it's like everyone keeps themselves to themselves, but on the other hand we've got some of the communities problems come because they get too involved'. (Community Co-ordinator)

A respondent from the Youth Offending Team noted that sharing of power within inter-agency context is more about professionalism and finding what she called 'win-wins':

'I have power and control in regard to how I present our services and how I manage myself in professional interactions, and how I operate and manage and how I wrestle at the dichotomies between other people's agendas and my own agenda and how we work together as managers to look for win-wins out of what are often complex and conflicting agendas'. (Manager, YOT)

The evidence from this study suggests that different partner agencies work with schools according to a range of projects which are often short-term. Consequently power relationships change over time when a new partner joins the partnership and/or the old partner leaves. Therefore, power dynamics relate to the structural aspects of partnership working and power could shift between partners depending on the character of projects, membership structure, and the development of the collaboration.

The results from this study reveal that while working within an inter-agency collaborative context people play power politics through networking. I will present and analyse this next.

6.4.4 Networking

Respondents from schools stated that 'networking is hugely important and making the right contact, attending the right events where you can keep nourishing those contacts as well' (Headteacher, Coroniola secondary school). The heads of Daisy nursery school and Myosota primary school saw networking as an essential part of the effective development of their schools.

'I have had the chance to go to extended school conferences and there are some good networking opportunities there. You meet other people who are involved in extended schools and basically share some of the things you're doing, which means you can tell them about something we are doing, in our case with the local football club, and then somebody told me about an initiative of working with a local radio station which improves speaking and listening opportunities for children'. (Headteacher, Myosota primary school)

The head of a nursery school preferred a regular dialogue and informal networking as a way to encourage inter-agency collaboration:

'I'm a great believer in informal networking. We already do have a bit of crossover in terms of nursery staff supporting when there have been cover issues. The Children's Centre staff are attending training that we put on for early years practitioners – that is a part of our role in the local authority as a nursery school – we disseminate good practice really and provide training. They have been coming to these weekly seminars, meeting with our staff and with people from other settings as well.'. (Headteacher, Daisy nursery school)

Schools were networking in the city not only through the extended services initiative. The headteacher said:

‘I work with other heads but I’d have to say that generally it’s through “The Education Improvement Partnership” because we are like-minded schools, we have got a similar agenda and it is easier if you work with schools that are on similar programmes to yourself. So we have done some work, for instance, with Rose School, which is a long way from here, on one of our initiatives that we are doing called Rolf (Raising Our Level Fours) and with another one of the schools in the local area, I have done some work on “Writers Workshop” and the head and I went to have a look at a writers workshop in another country – we did a study tour. So, you tend to pick and chose people you can identify as common themes’. (Headteacher, Myosota primary school)

Figure 2 presents a picture of networking and partnerships for Myosota primary school.

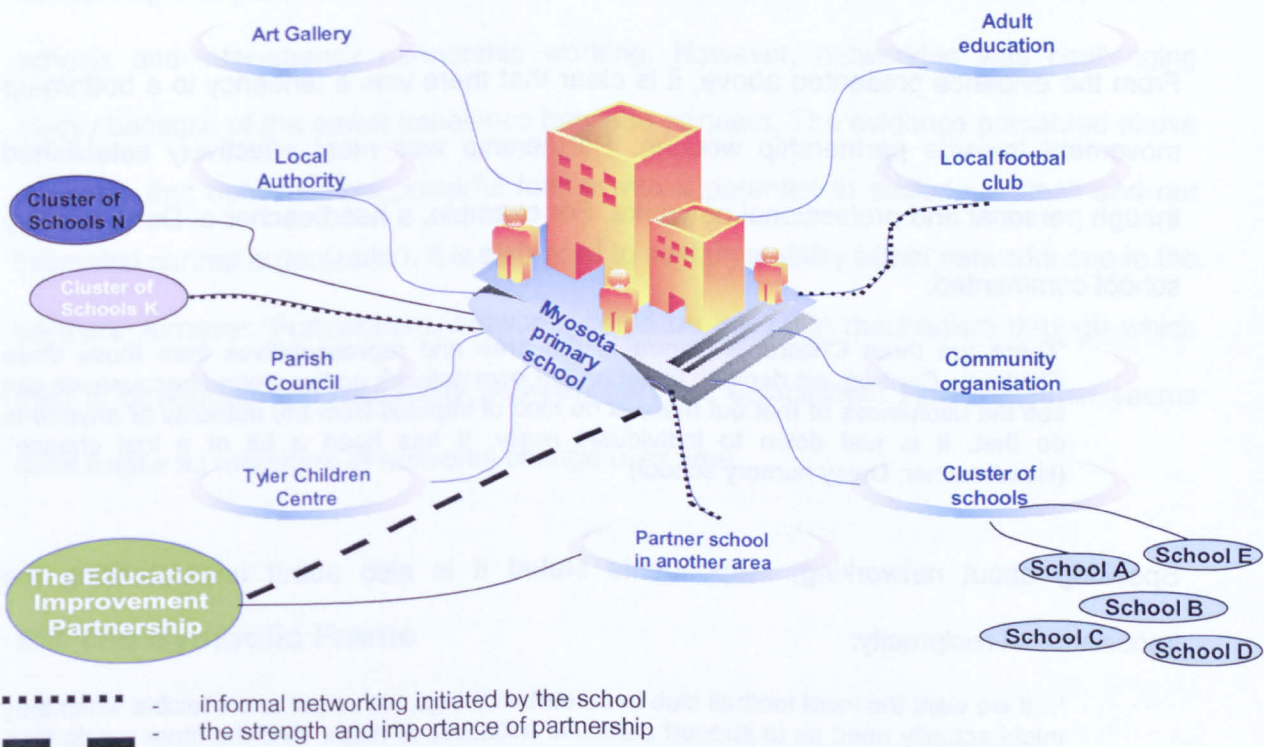


Figure 2 Networking and partnership in Myosota primary school

The Myosota head preferred to network and collaborate with other like-minded people in different areas of the city. Some of its other contacts derived from informal networking initiated or picked up by the headteacher, as with the football club. Furthermore, the headteacher claimed that he would rather network with a big and influential partner organization:

‘...It is great to have links with schools but I do encourage links with other organizations... I have got very few links with the schools around here. For all sorts of reasons: one – they are all very small, even though they should be quite big, and I think that means they are

always terrified of trying to get more children and constant movement of staff' (Headteacher, Myosota primary school).

A respondent from a partner agency commented:

'...the bigger the organization, unfortunately the larger their perception of their power, and subsequent control takes place and that has a really impact on partnerships' (Manager, Voluntary organization)

The headteacher from Myosota school commented that he saw a big value in networking:

'I have done more networking in the community. I am the one who's made an effort to get hold of the local football club because they have moved to that new stadium. I suppose we could still be in the situation where we have never been there. But we went and we said "Listen, we want to be involved, what can we do to help?" And I have to say the chairman of football club and the staff there are wonderful. They go to quite a lot of trouble to involve Myosota school. And I am grateful for that. People have told me that. He said to me "Anything I can do for Myosota, I will". He's a bit special like that'. (Headteacher, Myosota primary school)

From the evidence presented above, it is clear that there was a tendency to a bottom-up movement towards partnership working. Partnership was most effectively established through personal and professional networks. For example, a headteacher of Daisy nursery school commented:

'There are three Children's Centre in the area and representatives from those three Children's Centres, we decided to set up our own network on the ground because we can see the usefulness of that but there is no kind of impetus from the authority or anyone to do that. It is just down to individuals really. It has been a bit of a lost chance'. (Headteacher, Daisy nursery school)

Speaking about networking, respondents stated it is also about understanding the importance of reciprocity:

'...If we want the local football club to do certain things, we've got to be flexible when they might actually need us to support particular initiatives of theirs. And the more we do that, the better we tend to find the response with any stakeholder' (Headteacher, Coroniola secondary school)

A respondent from Lantana secondary school, which had a long history of networking and collaborating with schools and different agencies, stressed that they prefer to take a step-by-step approach before the school would be able to collaborate with other organizations:

'Even for us, and it is something we have been doing for a while, we would often wish to move slowly, to develop a working relationship with the individuals first, understand what it is they want to achieve for themselves and what they can offer, talk about the codes of practice, the structures, and only then would we really say: "Ok, you are a partner agency now". Once we have developed that sense of understanding'. (School Business Manager, Lantana secondary)

This quote suggests that building good partnership working takes time and schools are very careful moving towards it. This process also involves building trusting relationships.

In summary, the evidence presented above demonstrates the difficulty in sharing power within an inter-agency collaborative context. Leadership practice has to include understanding complex hierarchies, utilizing political skills, avoiding political confrontation, boundary crossing, compromising and negotiation, and entrepreneurial abilities and financial knowledge.

Networking and personal contacts were seen as an important part of the development of schools and inter-agency partnership working. However, networking was challenging mainly because of the power imbalance between partners. The evidence presented above suggests that networks are powerful forces with a potential to exclude a small and not influential partner organization. It is also hard to sustain stability within networks due to the partners' turnover. Furthermore, networks could be the main mechanism through which trust is developed and reciprocity between partners established. However, trust seems quite fragile as members of networks change over time.

6.5 The Symbolic Frame

The symbolic elements of collaboration that will be presented and analysed next include the following: cultural issues, shared values and aims; inspirational leadership, and views on the collaborative nature of leadership.

6.5.1 Cultural Issues

Clear evidence emerged that cultural differences between partners were the main obstacles within an inter-agency collaborative context.

'Different agencies, stakeholders, organizations have different cultures, different values to some extent, sometimes you have got to try and encourage organizations to break out of silos' (Headteacher, Coroniola secondary school)

Furthermore, sometimes there was seen to be a mismatch in priorities between schools and partner agencies:

'I think there is a clash of cultures of some providers ... Some providers are profit-making organizations – and we are not a profit-making organization - there is a clash of culture there'. (Assistant head, Coroniola secondary school)

The majority of respondents from schools felt that both local authority and partner agencies do not know very well the realities of schools and their communities and how schools operate on a day-to-day basis:

'...you get agencies that come in and they want to do all these great things for the schools, and they are great but they don't always know the life of a school, and what goes on in the school'. (Assistant head, Myosota primary school)

The data showed that people had different expectations from the extended services programme and sometimes there was a gap between people's views on the strategic level and on the ground:

'...the workers on the ground will look at things in a very different way than those strategic players' (Manager, Parish Council)

A headteacher of Daisy nursery school noted that some people are 'community minded' - they are really happy to come to the school and deliver some services, while others prefer to stay in their own organization and work from there. It was stated that changing the mind-set of people and their traditional working practices requires time, patience and commitment:

'I think it is a whole change of culture really, particularly for health workers. I suppose change is most effective when it happens gradually and with people's consent. I hope it will take place' (Headteacher, Daisy nursery school)

Respondents from partner agencies also saw working practice, particularly the issue of confidentiality and ethics protocols as a barrier in collaboration:

'We work with Relate, with the College and we work with the Health Services, and sometimes issues around confidentiality have been quite hard, that we want to maybe share information and those organizations have said "no, we're not sharing, we're not quite sure what you do, and who we are, and we don't think it's important to share that information". That has been quite a big issue, definitely'. (Manager, Tyler Children Centre)

Participants suggested that working in an inter-agency context requires flexibility and understanding of other professional cultures:

'What you need are individuals, you need organizations, who are able to work in a facilitating way to bring together partners around the table who feel actively involved in helping to shape the culture, style and approach of service delivery rather than requesting support of the delivery end. [...] and then the service delivery will be about how we educate, enable, empower, we support reflection and work in partnership with all partners across all sectors'. (Senior Manager, Voluntary organization)

The results from this study suggest that school leaders were working hard to engage with parents and the community and to create a 'culture of partnership' (Daisy nursery school) and being an 'open' school (Myosota and Lantana school). Furthermore, the voices of children were also considered while organising the extended service activities. Respondents noted that the Students Council, in one primary and two secondary schools involved in the study, played an important part in the way of identifying the needs and wishes of students concerning after-school clubs and study support activities.

6.5.2 Shared Aims and Values

Participants commented that people involved in a partnership need to outline the benefits of collaboration when approaching potential partners:

'We need to be clear about, what our limitations are about working in partnership, what agenda are we working towards? Because everybody is contracted, everybody is funded in certain way, what is our mission, what are we hoping to get out of this? Let's be clear about it up-front' (Senior Manager, Voluntary organization)

Clear evidence emerged that it is essential to develop a shared vision between partners:

'There is a need for a formalisation of vision. I think that can be done through both formal and informal channels and leadership influences. People from different organizations will have different views about what that looks like. Because understandably they are coming from their patch and if they are in child health – that is their mission, that's where their expertise and so on is. They are hardly necessarily going to have opinions about how the youth service should be run' (ES Remodelling Advisor, LA)

The idea of developing a shared vision is important but very difficult to realize in practice. The lack of time for regular meetings and discussions, and inconsistency in membership status, were barriers to working in an inter-agency collaborative context.

6.5.3 *Inspirational Leadership*

Headteachers participating in this study acknowledged that there had been a shift in their role and that they often felt they needed to be the one to keep everyone in the school motivated to get involved in the extended schools programme.

'...It is as important to me as the early intervention agenda. When you are very open and cheerful, you have a bit of a joke with them, bring them in' (Headteacher, Myosota primary school)

It seems that the headteacher of Myosota school was able to inspire and motivate his staff by acting as a role model for the teachers and that approach helped to get them involved in the extended services activities in the school. The headteacher of Myosota school was a committed supporter of the extended schools programme and was enthusiastic about collaborative working. He commented that lots of work in his school was based on staff enthusiasm:

'...we had an opportunity last week to go to a tournament called Korfbal. It has just being set up in Taffield. We have got the opportunity to go after school on a night last week to a tournament. Three members of staff were willing to go. If they hadn't been willing to take the children because families did not, it would not have happened. ...and the children did very well'. (Headteacher, Myosota primary school)

The head of Daisy nursery school noted that she is not 'a very hierarchical person' and described her style as involving as 'flat a hierarchy as possible'. The nursery head indicated that anybody can take on a project in the school, it does not matter what their job title is and that seems to work:

'Obviously some people are more keen to take on projects than others, and some people need more encouragement than others. It does seem to work quite well, I think, and I hope it will continue to work with the new set up'. (Headteacher, Daisy nursery school)

It was clear from the data that the headteachers in Daisy nursery school and in Myosota primary school, by distilling and disseminating a vision of the importance of the extended schools programme, were able to inspire teachers and make it a whole staff priority.

6.5.4 The Collaborative Nature of Leadership

While speaking about leadership practice in an inter-agency context, respondents highlighted the collaborative nature of leadership:

'And the leadership that extended services promotes is very collaborative, in this together, give and take, and as opposed to the dictatorial, authoritative approach, the "*Thou shalt do*" type of approach. It is about bringing people in, collaborating with others, if I say "give and take'. (ES Remodelling Adviser, LA)

Participants suggested that flexibility is important for collaborative leadership practice.

'An ability to work effectively with other individuals and other groups is crucial, and flexibility as the job develops, to be able to recognise and see where there are areas that you are going to grow, and there are areas where you might be hoping that something will happen'. (Art College Manager, Lantana secondary school)

This quote suggests that leaders need to have the capacity to re-interpret multiple perspectives and develop new patterns of activity.

Determination and respect for other partners were seen as important leadership attributes in inter-agency collaborative working:

'You have to find a way of uniting and working together, and it isn't always easy. There's always one organization that you're going to have a problem with, but you have to ensure that your team are very aware of how you want to work, and you have to keep going even if you think I'm not going to work with that organization anymore'. (Manager, Tyler Children's Centre)

It was also stated that leaders need to be able to develop facilitative skills:

'You need to have facilitative skills because there are lots of issues that come up when you have lots of different organizations that have their own way of working, their own policies that may be very different to how you work' (Manager, Tyler Children's Centre)

A respondent from Tyler Children Centre noted that leaders have to be very resilient and realistic about what they can achieve:

'Partners need to know that if they're going to go to a meeting, it's got a set agenda and it's going to produce good results. They're very busy people, they don't want their time wasted. You need to have a thorough awareness of how their organizations work and what you can offer to them. That's long term I think really, and you have to be very resilient. You have to be realistic about what you can achieve as well I think'. (Manager, Tyler Children's Centre)

There was a view that working in an inter-agency context was challenging for 'team-building' as people come from different professional background:

'Although we have got our "mini-team", so we have got the nursery school team and we have got the Children's Centre team but hopefully together we are a team. We have got the other people who come in occasionally to be part of our team – so the health visitors or people from EMAS (Ethnic Minority Achievement Support) or maybe job centre people. So, I hope we will be able to develop an inter-disciplinary team that will be able to support our community. That is the aim anyway'. (Headteacher, Daisy nursery school)

Participants saw the Every Child Matters agenda as the government target they referred to and that to some extent united all agencies to work for the well-being of children and the communities:

'I think I lead by example, I think that if you want to create a culture of hostility and mistrust then it's easy to do, but I don't think it's necessary, we all have different agendas, the government changes what our target is, but at the end of the day I think we are here to serve the public, not the other way round...It is our responsibility to work together to deliver the right service'. (Manager, YOT)

Another view was expressed by a headteacher:

'I think there was a bit of an attitude that was created in the last ten years by the government of "dog eat dog", in other words you try to get as many children into your school at the expense of other schools. I have never agreed with it and I have never taken part in it' (Headteacher, Myosota primary school)

These quotes suggest that professionalism and moral principals are important for effective leadership practice within inter-agency collaborative context.

In summary, for effective working in an inter-agency collaborative context involving schools, leaders are expected to learn about the realities of different schools, and learn how to see the 'bigger' picture of needs and actions required to address those needs. Despite the view that 'organizations collaborate', in real life it is more about individuals and their abilities to build, manage and sustain collaborative relationships. Therefore, leadership practices based on flexibility, determination, and respect for other partners, resilience and realism are necessary. Finally, as opposed to the 'ticking boxes' attitude expressed by some participants in this study, the central requirements for leadership in an inter-organizational context are moral principles to work for the benefits of children and the well-being of the community.

6.6 Summary of main findings presented in Chapter 6

The evidence presented above demonstrates the wide range of activities and practices which were developed by leaders in schools, the local authority and partner agencies while working within an inter-agency collaborative context to provide extended services activities for children, their parents and the wider community in the city. The key findings discussed in this chapter are summarised in the Table 10 below.

Table 10 A four frame model of leadership practice in an inter-agency collaborative context

Structural Frame	Human Resources Frame	Political Frame	Symbolic Frame
1) strategic coordination 2) listening, frank, open and frequent communication 3) marketing of services 4) clarity about roles, responsibility 5) coordination 6) democratic processes	1) staff volunteering 2) value and respect for professional development 3) continuous learning 4) support and empowerment (staff & community) 5) professional honesty – professionalism 8) trust building	1) shared responsibility 2) compromising, negotiating arguments, consensus building 3) diffusing conflicts 4) participatory decision-making 5) networking 6) avoiding political confrontation 8) power sharing 9) political skills 10) regular dialogue	1) open organization (open school) 2) inspiration/motivation 3) leader as a role model (showing enthusiasm) 4) formalization of values 5) shared language 6) respect for other professional culture 7) culture of partnership with parents 8) flexibility 9) learning to see the “bigger” picture

Although, the four frames suggested by Bolman and Deal (2003) has proved a convenient analytical framework within which to identify key tasks and issues, many of the elements involve activities that relate to several different frames.

The findings suggest:

- There was a lack of strategic overseeing of different initiatives and how activities linked together and who provided coordination between partners.

- Communication mechanisms between organizations needed to be improved. There is a danger of leaving partners as well as staff in an 'information vacuum'. Furthermore, informal ways of communication were seen as most efficient within a collaborative context.
- The evidence highlights that practitioners often performed the role of 'messengers' by 'bridging' different partners and groups together.
- Democratic principles were widely seen as needing to become the main working protocols in inter-agency collaborative settings.
- Teachers volunteering and goodwill appeared to be the main source of staffing of the extended services initiatives in the four schools involved in the study. However, this evidence raises the important question of how much the extended schools activities depend on voluntary participation in both the process of setting up and day-to-day practice?
- Clear evidence emerged of the empowerment of staff, parents and community members. The main principle behind empowerment is to increase productivity, engagement and ownership with regard to the initiatives by developing confidence in people's own capacities.
- Participants perceived trust building as a key task in collaborative working. The evidence suggests that in schools where teachers showed a high level of trust towards a headteacher, staff were more motivated and engaged with the initiative. Furthermore, schools with high levels of trust between the headteacher and teachers were more open to working with parents and the community.

- The research revealed the difficulty in sharing power within an inter-agency collaborative context. Power relationships display a complex and multi-dimensional character. Furthermore, power structures change over time.
- Leadership practice while dealing with power issues between partners includes: understanding complex hierarchies, utilizing political skills, avoiding political confrontation, boundary crossing, compromising and negotiation (brokering arguments), and entrepreneurial abilities and financial knowledge.
- Networking was seen as an important part of the effective development of schools and inter-agency partnership working. A range of different networks was identified based on professional and personal links. The evidence presented above suggests that networks are powerful forces with a potential to exclude a small and less influential partner organization. It is also hard to sustain stability within networks due to the partners' turnover. Networks were seen as the main mechanism through which trust is developed and reciprocity between partners established, but trust seemed quite fragile because members of networks were changing over time.
- The results suggest that cultural differences between partner agencies, specificity of professional working styles and procedures, were seen as barriers to effective inter-agency collaboration. The importance of formalization of vision and agreement about shared aims between partners was acknowledged but it was the most difficult task to achieve in practice.
- The results highlighted the importance of learning and further professional development both for leaders and the staff in schools and partner agencies. It was apparent that leaders have to learn how to build, sustain and manage

relationships with community and partners. Furthermore, leaders have to learn how to see the 'bigger' picture of needs and actions required to address those needs. Despite the view that 'organizations collaborate' in day-to-day practice, this is more about individuals and their abilities to build, manage and sustain collaborative relationships. Therefore, leadership practices based on flexibility, determination, respect for other partners, resilience and realism were seen as necessary.

- As oppose to the 'ticking boxes' attitude identified by some participants in this study, the central requirement for collaborative leadership practice is a moral commitment to work for the benefits of children and the well-being of the community.

Overall, the key themes that emerge from the data presented in this chapter are built around the role of leaders in empowering, networking and building trust within an inter-organizational context. The wide range of leadership practices, qualities and activities that was revealed in this study can be characterized under the three categories identified in Chapter 2 (see Table 5 p.68): the leader as a *learner*, the leader as *collaborator* and the leader as *supporter*. The key characteristics of each category are summarised in Table 11.

Table 11 Key elements of collaborative leadership In an inter-agency context

Leaders category	Leadership qualities and practice
Leaders as Learners	Listening ability Knowing local area and knowing people Clarity about roles and responsibilities Communication Assertiveness Knowledge of finance
Leaders as Collaborators	Strategic coordination Ability to provide shared vision and direction Facilitative skills Political skills Avoiding political confrontation Compromising and negotiating Diffusing conflicts Brokering Sharing power Empowerment of staff, parents and community Networking skills Bridging Resilience and realism Entrepreneurial skills
Leaders as Supporters	Openness, honesty and trustworthiness Inspiration/motivation Sensitivity and patience Compassion Moral leadership Being reflective and responsive Trust building Reciprocity

This is a useful framework of leadership qualities and practices that are necessary for working within an inter-agency collaborative context. For the purpose of this study and with the aim of answering the research questions posed in Chapter 1 (see section 1.1.) I will discuss in the next chapter the main themes that emerged from the data (empowering, networking and trust building) by adopting this leadership framework.

Chapter 7. Discussion

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter I synthesise the key themes emerging out of my data analysis as regards what these can tell us about leadership in the context of the extended schools programme and the practical implications. First, I need to review the initial research questions which addressed:

1. the implementation of the UK Government's extended schools programme
2. leadership practice in inter-organizational contexts

I illustrate how my conceptual framework of collaborative leadership helps us to understand the ways in which leaders operate on a daily basis in an inter-organizational context. The key elements of the framework – 'leader as learner', 'leader as collaborator' and 'leader as supporter' – will be applied to draw a picture of collaborative leadership practice.

7.2 Extended Schools: Pros and Cons

7.2.1 Re-focusing of The School's Role

The data suggest that participants saw the extended schools programme as an holistic approach to respond to children and families with multiple needs, and as necessitating resources and services from a range of agencies. However, the extended schools initiative was not seen as an entirely new government educational intervention and this is in line with what previous researchers have reported (e.g. Cummings et al. 2007, 2004; Dyson et al., 2002). Some of the activities and relationships described by participants in the present study had existed in some schools for a long time. At the same time, many of the relationships – especially those with parents, communities and community organizations – were, as Craig (2005) points out, 'qualitatively different to those to which

schools have become accustomed' (p.2). This study showed that the extended schools programme helped to re-prioritise what schools offer.

It seems important to distinguish between understandings of schooling as a 'traditional' model and an 'extended' model. There are two dimensions to this. The first is what schools can offer. On the 'traditional' model, schools offer access to specific academic knowledge and skills, as determined by teachers in line with the national curriculum and the mission of education. The model of extended schools suggests that they should provide what customers want, or what communities are taken to need. The second dimension concerns responsibility. Traditionally, schools provide access but it is largely the responsibility of children and parents to get what they can from what is offered. The extended school model, by contrast, seems to make the education system responsible for removing any barriers that there might be to learning within some communities, to compensate 'uneven development' within society; and, as the headteacher from Coroniola school put it, to compensate for: 'a sort of 'latch-key kids syndrome where there are no adults at home when kids get there'. The view was also expressed in the present study that schools are now seen by the government and others as providing some sort of 'social glue' to offset weaknesses in society. Over and above this, there is a latent aim providing childcare, so as to give adults the opportunity to engage in full-time work.

It seems that the key principle of the extended schools philosophy is that improving the quality of what happens within schools needs to be supported by simultaneous interventions in what happens to children in their families and in the community. The expectation is that schools become involved in tackling a series of social problems in the local communities – such as poor health, low skills, poor parenting, anti-social behaviour, unemployment and so on. By solving the difficulties faced by local people in communities, there are more chances to improve educational attainment and to give young people the knowledge and skills which would enable them to compete in the labour market, and so opening up opportunities to those most excluded in deprived communities. Thus, the role

of schools is seen as a vehicle to bring about a fundamental transformation in local 'dysfunctional' cultures.

Overall, my study indicates that the main features that differentiate the extended schools programme from other similar initiatives that took place in England in the past is that it led to a major reformulation of the role of the school. If we relate it to the outcomes outlined in the Every Child Matters agenda (DfES, 2003a), the extended schools initiative encouraged collaboration, shared responsibility and community involvement, thus placing challenging demands upon educational providers.

7.2.2 Contextual Factors

This research has shown that educational policy implementation is strictly contextual and dependent upon a series of political, cultural, economic and social factors. Depending on school contexts in which they work, school leaders face very different tasks and challenges. Furthermore, the way the policy is interpreted by the various people involved in implementing it is also significant.

Clearly the impact of the political factor was seen in the city's Children's Services that was undergoing a major internal reorganization. Turnover of professionals, the new structures, and multi-professional teams in the local authority affected how new arrangements were implemented and their functioning on a day-to-day basis. The new structures were characterised by participants as 'ad-hoc'. There were complex relationships within a wide range of teams and sub-teams within the Children's Centres on one side, and among professionals from health, social services, and third sector organizations on the other. Furthermore, there was evidence of duplication of services and initiatives. Taken together, these results suggested a significant level of uncertainty felt by the front-line professionals.

School leaders, similarly, had to deal with the complexity of political factors. Particularly, headteachers and teachers had some difficult questions to answer in day-to-day practice while dealing with centrally-mandated policies. It is apparent from the data that the government's guidance and instructions were not helpful as participants commented that they 'got mixed messages'. The 'Extended Schools: Prospectus' (DfES, 2005), for example, tends to bring more uncertainty by declaring that: 'there is no blueprint for the types of activities that schools might offer. How these services look and are delivered in or through a particular school will vary' (DfES, 2005:8). What we can see here is a contradiction between government agencies prescribing policies and at the same time insisting that practitioners at local levels have ownership of policies and, therefore, should exercise control in the light of local circumstances. Dyson et al. (2009) suggest that 'professionals have to work not only beyond organizational boundaries, but also beyond the separate priorities and targets that are imposed on them centrally' (p.153). My study showed that, on the ground, partner agencies had to protect their own interests and pursue their own aims while at the same time working towards meeting the Every Child Matters outcomes and developing 'integrated services'.

This study showed that professionals had developed their own responses in answering the challenging questions and had invented their own solutions and practical strategies while addressing the government extended schools programme. School leaders in this study were demonstrating political intelligence and engaging in political maneuvering whilst dealing with contradictions in policy instructions. Similarly, Cummings et al. (2007) commented that 'the attitude, values, and assumptions of local professionals - in short, their understandings are likely to determine what extended schooling means in practice' (p.191).

Another important finding that emerged from this study is the impact of economic and social factors on the implementation of the extended schools programme. A point of concern and caution worthy of discussion is that all schools involved in this study served

disadvantaged neighbourhoods, and, therefore, faced some additional challenges in providing extended services activities to children and communities. What is clear from the data is that the needs of schools and communities were not being accurately defined and assessed by the Extended Services Team in the local authority or by partner agencies. Where heads in a cluster of schools identified a range of different needs specific to their schools and community, it was not always clear which school's needs took precedence. The official statistics were seen as not reliable enough as communities in the city were characterised as 'transient'. As a respondent from a partner agency put it: 'we don't know what needs there are, so we can't focus our intervention'. This is compatible with an argument that 'the lack of attention to the contextual dynamics of schools often results in a faddish adoption of programmes to no avail' (Wetherill & Applefield 2005:198).

From the evidence in this study, it is apparent that the people's needs in deprived communities may not be in line with the extended schools activities provided for their children. Parents from impoverished backgrounds were not able to afford a small fee for extended services activities in clubs for their children. Poverty, housing, poor parenting, an anti-education culture and other economic and social factors bear directly on cognitive developments and educational performance in deprived communities. This is not to argue against the provision of extended services but the extended schools programme needs to take into account the impact of poverty and of the gap between affluent and deprived areas on the lives of children, their families and local communities.

Overall, this study showed that contextual factors make a significant difference to the implementation of the extended schools programme.

7.2.3 Two Views On the Extended Schools Programme

Two broad understandings about the extended schools programme emerged from this study: the *school-centred* view – supported by education professionals, and the *community-centred* view – supported by other professionals. At the same time, there is evidence that some professionals might have shared both views.

In the *school-centred* view, schools were described in relation to the local communities they serve. Schools were seen as a service base for children and the school's main task was viewed as providing quality education for children; and the issue was how the extended schools programme could help to achieve that. The idea was that by engaging with different activities provided in schools, especially in disadvantaged communities, young people and their families have a chance to escape the cycle of disadvantage and improve life chances. The attitude of families towards education and engagement with education by their children was seen as an important condition of how children learn in schools. As a respondent from the local authority in this study put it: 'the level of aspiration feeds off the family and the level of aspiration that you've got within that family, which then goes into that community'. This is in line with Coleman's (1988) argument that there is a lack of social capital in the family if there are not strong relationships between children and parents. It depends on the amount of time that parents devote to their children, and the extent to which there is 'intergenerational closure' (see Chapter 2, section 2.2.2) in the local community, not only in matters related to schools but in the sense that children's friends' parents tend themselves to be friends with each other. Therefore, whatever human capital exists among the parents, the child does not profit from it because the social capital is missing (Coleman, 1988:S111). Ultimately, as Coleman argues, the effect of a lack of social capital within the family varies across different educational outcomes. For example, one for which it appears to be especially important is dropping out of school. From evidence in this study it is apparent that extended services activities have created the opportunities and provided different sort of aspirations for families and communities by

engaging and involving them in their children's education and in adult education (see Chapter 5, section 5.7.3). Overall, as it mentioned above, extended schooling was about transformation in local cultures.

According to the school-centred view the local people and organizations have a part to play in generating benefits for schools, children and their families. This concurs with Putnam's (2004) argument that there are two types of social capital in schools: '*inside the walls*', that is, social networks within schools, and social capital '*outside the walls*', that is social networks linking schools to the broader community. From this point of view, social connections with families and communities are seen as essential educational resources that can help to develop community-based social capital. For example, by visiting different clubs and attending activities in community organizations, children and their parents had a chance to get professional support and consultation and enrich their knowledge and skills and, hence, improve life chances. This supports Putnam's (1995) view that clubs and structured groups created for other purposes have generalizable social benefits. In fact, he argues that such organizations are a 'precondition' for socioeconomic modernisation (Putnam, 1995:66). Therefore, the social capital held in the community and partner agencies can contribute to the effective functioning of schools and the development of young people.

The school-centred view suggests that local communities have a part to play in shaping the role of the school and particularly in becoming more vocal about what extended services activities and provision are required.

Another understanding of the extended schools programme that emerged from the data is the *community-centred* view.

Here, schools were perceived as a 'hub' and resource for the community and/or as a base by partner agencies for providing their professional services by using facilities available in

schools (e.g. classrooms, sport and leisure facilities, libraries and ICT, and other). While some respondents (e.g. from the health agency) had a view that 'school facilities are desperately underused in this country', some respondents from schools complained about a lack of available facilities.

The main focus of the community-centred understanding is 'accessibility' of services, with not only educational but health, retail and other professional consultations provided on the school site for families and people in local communities. The community-centred view fits with what Coleman (1988) described as 'appropriable social organizations' (see Chapter 2, section 2.2.2). Broadly this means that an organization that was initiated for one purpose is available for other purpose. Consequently extended schools can be seen as appropriable social organizations which can not only assist educational purpose but build social capital more generally. This view coincides with Putnam's (1995) argument stated above that social capital held 'inside the walls', i.e. in clubs and community groups, contributes to both the effective functioning of schools and the generating of social capital in communities.

Furthermore, the idea of multiplexity is important to consider here. Individuals in multiplex relationships interact under a variety of circumstances – in the workplace, neighbourhood, social clubs, for example. The central property of a multiplex relationship is that it allows the resources of one relationship to be appropriable for use in others (Coleman, 1988). Thus, the level of interactions and the diversity of social ties are central. It is apparent from evidence in this study, that information is an important resource and some professionals (e.g. Community Co-ordinator and Cluster co-ordinators) performed the role of 'messenger' or 'mediator', acting as boundary-crossers between schools and communities. The evidence suggests that multiplexity of relations within the extended schools programme supports the development of community-based social capital.

7.2.4 Issues of Priorities

Another important finding that emerged from this study is the issue of priorities. School leaders, on one side, have to think of how to provide education and improve levels of achievement. On the other side, they have to think more broadly about community needs, and how to deal with addressing needs in disadvantaged neighbourhoods and advance toward the broader objective of community cohesion.

The literature (e.g. Ainscow et al., 2008, Cummings & Dyson, 2007) suggests that many school leaders are uninterested in what happens beyond the school gates, and even those that are have only limited means at their disposal for intervening in prevailing social and economic conditions. The evidence from this study suggests that school leaders had to respond to the contradictions of a neo-liberal policy agenda which placed emphasis on competition, choice and high-stakes accountability and policies based on fundamentally different values, such as those embedded in the extended schools programme and the Every Child Matters agenda, which encourage collaboration and community involvement and sharing responsibilities. As Dyson (2009) argues, 'it is very difficult for even the most socially-aware leaders to "de-centre" and commit themselves to a wide-ranging, long-term and multi-agency approach to disadvantage' (p.9). My study showed that the majority of school leaders tended to concentrate on solutions which improved their schools and raised children's attainment rather than spending time thinking and developing a cohesive community strategy.

Overall, then, there seems to be a difficulty in balancing the demands of improving educational attainment with those of a more holistic approach to children's welfare and community needs.

This study has shown that the perceptions and priorities of different professionals working to provide the extended schools services in the same area (and even from the same

professional background) were quite different. This is in line with Huxham and Vangen's (2005) argument that despite the fact that organizations come together, bring resources and expertise to the table, and create potential for collaborative advantage, these organizations also have different reasons for being involved, and their representatives seek to achieve different outputs from their involvement.

The results from this study clearly highlighted some areas of concern. Specifically, there seemed to be a lack of opportunities for genuine dialogue amongst the schools and partner agencies aimed at articulating and generating shared vision and aims. There were limited opportunities for inter-agency sharing. This resulted in the lack of a common shared sense of purpose and clear ideas about what each partner was doing. This study showed that there were two tendencies in practice. One is based on a managerialist – 'ticking boxes'- approach; the other practice is grounded in high moral commitment and the professionalism of people working for the benefit of children and the community, and towards the Every Child Matters outcomes.

7.2.5 Is The Extended Schools Programme Value For Money?

The results from this study raised a question about the 'value for money' of the extended services initiatives. There was clearly substantial financial investment from the government in the implementation of the programme. Yet, the data gathered from the four schools involved illustrated that there was insufficient funding to provide the full range of extended services on the ground. This caused intensification of work by teachers who volunteered their time in schools. Similar problems were identified in other studies (e.g. Ipsos MORI, 2008; Cummings et al., 2006), that many schools were relying too heavily on the goodwill of their teaching staff who were running services without being paid. However, Harris et al. (2007) argue that extra funding alone will not secure the implementation of the extended schools programme.

My study indicates that people on the ground had different approaches to dealing with the lack of funding. Some school leaders were engaged in economic entrepreneurship and managed to obtain additional funding for running extended services activities in their schools (e.g. the Head of Myosota school, who received external funding for providing sport clubs). In other schools the lack of funding was seen as a barrier and this made them reluctant to engage with the extended schools programme and the wider social agendas. Furthermore, the results of this study indicated that there was clear tension and suspicions between partner agencies about unequal funding distribution.

This research revealed difficulties in assessing how effectively the aims of extended schools have been realised in practice. Indeed, some outcomes, such as engagement with parents and involvement with marginalised and hard-to-reach groups in the communities, were essentially difficult to assess. In addition, respondents commented that it was difficult to separate the 'impact' of the extended schools activities from other initiatives that were taking place simultaneously in the schools. Overall, it seems problematic to speak about the 'impact' of the extended schools programme based on evidence from this study. Finally, these were early days in terms of the implementation of the programme. As a respondent from the health agency put it: 'you won't make a change within one or two years'.

Yet, the respondents described some positive evidence such as pupils' greater engagement with learning, increased parental engagement in children's learning (in nursery and primary schools), reduced behaviour and discipline problems and better attendance as a consequence of the extended services activities in the schools (see Chapter 5, Table 9) An interesting view was expressed by the headteacher of Myosota school, about extended schooling 'broadening children's horizons', opening up opportunities for children which were not available before, providing extended services and consequently enriching their social capital and improving their life chances especially in disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

As stated elsewhere in this thesis, the underlying principle behind the extended schools programme was not only about school improvement but also about community transformation. However, it is very doubtful whether there is much more capacity for this task through the school system. This study showed that while schools were able to offer some forms of support and training for vulnerable families and community members, on the whole they were not able to engage effectively with 'hard-to-reach' members of communities and with the large number of people who lived in disadvantaged neighborhoods.

The extended schools programme has once again raised an important question to which policy-makers have not found an answer: how schooling might relate to wider social policies for tackling disadvantage? Raffo and Dyson (2007) suggest that there is a need for a more radical agenda for schools and communities, that they need to be part of a much wider set of social and economic reforms aimed at the creation of a more egalitarian society.

In summary, the results from this study show that there are inconsistencies in policy making, and identify how, despite their efforts, schools find it increasingly difficult to balance the often competing demands of providing high quality education in terms of academic achievement whilst also meeting the needs of children and their families in a more holistic manner by addressing the extended schools programme. Therefore, while this research recognises some promising developments, contradictions in policy place inconsistent demands upon schools, and dramatically hinder the impact schools are able to make particularly on students and communities in disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

7.3 Leadership Practices That Promote the Development of the Extended Services Activities

In this section, I will utilize the conceptual framework of collaborative leadership discussed above (see Chapter 2, Table 5). I firstly present the collaborative practice of the leader as learner, which broadly deals with learning and developing understanding about the context, key actors and aims of joint work. Then the focus of discussion moves toward the leader as collaborator, with the main emphasis being on bringing people on board through empowering and networking. Finally, building trust in an inter-agency collaborative context by a leader as supporter will be explored.

7.3.1 *Leader as Learner*

The results from this study show that staff's traditional roles were undergoing transition at all levels in schools, as well as in the local authority and partner organizations. Professionals had to learn how to work in constantly changing collaborative settings. The literature (e.g. Muijs, 2007) suggests that sensitive leadership is required at school level, by individuals who are prepared to listen and learn, and value different perspectives brought to the table by different actors. What was significant in this study is that some heads were able to move on and decided that: 'my role is now different'. In general, therefore, it seems that the personal transformation of leaders is a central part of collaborative leadership practice. However, there is also evidence that not all leaders were ready for the change and some questioned what their role might be within a new context. Similar evidence that the expansion into new roles led to confusion was observed in other studies (e.g. Atkinson et al., 2001). The unwillingness of some leaders to change can be explained by the general complexity of the educational context in England. Continuous structural changes and overall top-down mandated and short-term reforms in the school

system have generated a sense of insecurity and in some cases resistance to 'innovations' among school leaders and teachers: 'heads know that their schools have to succeed in a target-based culture and in the end this will drive what is allowed and what is proscribed'(Wright, 2003:142).

This research showed that practitioners were working in a complex inter-organizational context with little training in or experience of collaborative work. Nevertheless, some participants like, for example, the headteacher from Myosota primary school had participated in the 'Common Purpose' programme specifically designed for leaders to work together for a year. This evidence suggests that good quality practice-oriented training gives people an opportunity to learn more about what other people are doing in terms of their roles, about different kinds of professional practice and about what different agencies can do together. Joint training can help to create a greater understanding of what steps and strategies are needed to succeed. In the literature (e.g. Fullan, 1999) training is also identified as a critical factor in successful collaboration. My study showed that an effective collaborative leader in an inter-agency context is one who is willing to learn and also supports his or her staff in developing their professional skills as collaborators. Overall, it seems that professional practice-oriented training can teach both propositional and procedural knowledge (what and how), which will through practice become shared and tacit knowledge.

Senge's (1990) concept of the learning organization is useful here. According to Senge, knowledge within organizations takes two forms: the explicit and tacit. Explicit knowledge is comparatively easy to transfer but it is likely to be general rather than specific. On the other hand, tacit knowledge is caught rather than deliberately passed on, but can only be caught if the right circumstances exist. Consequently, what can be achieved through explicit and tacit exchanges is limited, and learning organizations need to find ways to

generate tacit-to-explicit and explicit-to-tacit transfers (West, 2010; Ainscow & West, 2006a, 2006b).

A helpful perspective on tacit knowledge in professional work has been developed by Eraut (2000). He acknowledges that 'the limitations to making tacit knowledge explicit are formidable' (p.134). Furthermore, 'the probability is that "thick" tacit versions of knowledge will co-exist alongside "thin" explicit versions. The thick versions will be used in professional practice, the thin version for justification, for explaining transfer possibilities, for training purposes and in evaluating research' (Eraut, 2000:135). Thus, this highlights a tension between the explicit knowledge of required system change in educational leadership in collaborative settings and the ideas that are embedded in professional practice at the local level, which may be varied and contradict the knowledge obtained through professional preparation programmes. This seems to have been what happened in this study when the headteacher claimed that good training and leadership is not just good educational training – it is good community educational training – and he added: 'Certainly nobody ever mentioned it in my management training when I went to Nottingham'. This is in line with Eraut's (2001) argument that the knowledge base for professional expertise has moved from a reliance on the theoretical to one assuming that expertise 'is based mainly on experience' (p.126). In the context of collaborative leadership, tacit knowledge is embedded in professional practice when partners work together on common goals, shared vision, sharing and using one another's knowledge; and through processes of listening, dialogue, reflection, and creating new knowledge.

The results of this study suggest the importance of listening skills for collaborative leaders. Collaborative leaders are masterful listeners and get detailed information about the situation on the ground. However, listening is not enough. The information has to be processed, shared, and learned from. For collaborative efforts to succeed, leaders as learners need to process all of the input, identify commonalities and use those common interests to set goals and strategies. As a respondent from the school put it: 'it's about

learning and knowledge, shared understanding and recognition of everyone's contribution to the agenda', so this is about creating new knowledge. This is a process that rests on a range of sophisticated skills that can be applied in a variety of settings. Overall, information is important in providing a basis for action. It is clear, therefore, that collaborative leaders have to be listening leaders who know how to use information in ways that benefits not only their own organizations but also the other actors involved.

Skilled communication is a recurring theme in the literature (e.g. Huxham & Vangen, 2005; Allnock et al., 2006). In line with this, the results of this study suggest that creating environments that support good communication and dialogue between partners is essential and it could be achieved through joint inter-agency meetings, focus group meetings, conferences, seminars and workshops, and other events.

Face-to-face meetings and dialogue in inter-agency settings were seen as having a number of positive attributes. Firstly, they enhance the communication skills between partners and in the community. Participants in this study suggested developing 'communication of wider agenda' and 'marketing of services'. Secondly, communication can help to secure involvement and stimulate motivation as people engage with each other. In his conclusion to 'Better Together', Putnam (2003) identifies a number of strategies that help to build social capital and one is: 'a high emphasis on the quality of dialogue and the skills needed to engage in conversation' (p.283). The evidence suggests that the conversations about collaboration can be seen as learning, and also as democratic processes since all partners have a chance to contribute to the talks.

This research showed that both formal and informal means of communication are important between collaborators and the community. However, participants from schools and partner agencies preferred to use a range of informal ways of communication such as conversations and chats with partners and parents. What seemed significant about various approaches and strategies to communication is the view that activities can to be

used as a way to talk to people to find what 'makes them tick' because people are more open and willing to express themselves when they are active or involved in something they are interested in. Speaking about some common interests helps to overcome barriers and suspicion. Therefore, informal ways of communication are not only means of information and knowledge exchange, but also a strategy for networking and building trust between people. This research also concurs with Putnam et al.'s (2003) argument that: 'narratives help people construct and reconstruct their interests.... Telling and listening to stories creates empathy and helps people find the things they have in common, which then eases the formation of enduring groups and networks' (Putnam et al., 2003:283). Similarly, Nahapiet and Ghoshale (1998) point out that shared narratives facilitate the combination of different forms of knowledge, including those which are largely tacit (p.254). However, the results of this study indicated that lack of time and commitment often minimise the opportunities for two-way communication and collaborative dialogue.

This research indicates clearly that communication in an inter-agency collaborative context can not follow a top-down model. As discussed above, the lack of knowledge about schools and local communities' needs was a result of inefficient formal means of communication. Furthermore, the research shows that traditional ways of working, a 'ticking boxes' attitude, and the 'tunnel-visioned' focus of some officers in the local authority had a 'deleterious effect on the flow of communication' (Tschannen-Moran, 2009:222).

The ability to reflect on one's experience to try to assess the significance of what has happened and then try to modify it is an important collaborative leadership practice. This seemed to be what happened in Lantana secondary school where a partnership project did not really work and at the end partners reflected on their experience, aiming to learn from any mistakes, so that they worked together very successfully subsequently. A participant from Lantana school stated: 'It is about honestly working together, and reflecting upon what went well, what should have been done differently, what we will do

next time'. The literature (e.g. Dewey, 1933; Schön, 1983, 1987; Sergiovanni, 1991) portrays reflective practice as a process involving critical thinking and learning that in turn, leads to significant self-development. Schön (1987) suggested the need for 'reflection-in-action (the ability to think about what one is doing while doing it) and reflection-on-action (the capacity to reflect after the event on what has happened and on its implications for one's practice). Sergiovanni (1991) also pursues the development of a reflective practice model to illustrate how knowledge is used in practice. His model has three critical and interrelated components: practice episodes, theories of practice and antecedents (p.10). For the larger context, practice episodes are influenced by theories of practice that he called 'bundles of beliefs and assumptions... "about one's perceptions of how things work", consequently functioning as mindscapes and platforms' (p.10). Antecedent conditions extend the context of reflective practice even further by considering one's values and know how (Sergiovanni, 1991).

The notion of reflective practice is at the heart of the theory of collaborative advantage. Huxham and Vangen (2005) see the theory as supporting a cycle of practice and reflection and of trial and error that they view to be the essence of reflective practice. It offers conceptual handles that help the theory-user to suspend, momentarily, the complexity of everyday life, thereby enabling reflective action (p.235). My study indicated that shared experience and reflective practice are critical to the process of continuing development and on-going learning in inter-organizational settings, and also to becoming more effective as a collaborative leader.

From evidence in this study it is apparent that good knowledge about the resources and needs of local communities is important for effective collaborative working. There were some approaches suggested by participants such as 'reflecting on the needs of our community' and 'being able to put a finger on the pulse of what is needed in the area'. Therefore, the process of creating knowledge serves as a meaning-making function for the collaborative leaders to be clear about their goals, values and what should be done.

These findings are in line with the literature, which suggests that collaborative leaders try to learn and understand the context before acting (e.g. Chislip & Larson, 1994; Turning Point Programme, 2001, 2003).

In view of the above discussion, this study reveals that personal transformation of leaders, skilful communication and reflective practice are integral elements of effective collaborative leadership practice.

7.3.2 Leader as Collaborator

Empowering staff and teachers

From evidence in this study it is apparent that staff empowerment was seen as an important part of collaborative leadership practice.

Empowerment has been a leitmotiv of current leadership literature since 2000. However, the notion of empowerment is heavily criticized. In this discussion I see the term 'empowerment' of staff and teachers from two perspectives: economic and moral (see Chapter 2, section 2.5.3). The main drive behind the economic perspective was the task of increasing efficiency and implementing the extended schools programme. Leaders were lending their authority to the Senior Management Teams in dealing with external partners. The view of empowerment as a moral characteristic is about encouraging teachers to exercise autonomy, and about their professional development and preparation for a wider role in a school or further promotion elsewhere.

In organizations, empowerment is typically understood as having something to do with shared decision-making and site-based management (Sergiovanni, 1997). The findings of this study seemed to suggest that staff and teachers were able to contribute to the decision-making and the development of the extended services provision in schools.

Heads as collaborative leaders gave other people the opportunity to be heard and to lead, and to take decisions about their own work without having to refer to more senior colleagues. This has similarities with the argument in the literature (e.g. Muijs & Harris, 2007) that where teachers have the opportunity to influence important school decisions, they also tend to have stronger beliefs in the collective capability of the staff.

Another aspect of the empowerment of staff and teachers, according to Sergiovanni (1997), focuses less on rights, directions, and freedom and more on the commitments, obligations and duties that people feel towards each other and towards the school - as discussed above, empowerment is seen as an emotional commitment to work. This view can help to explain the evidence of teachers volunteering that was found in schools involved in the present study. The majority of respondents from schools (e.g. from Myosota primary school and Coroniola secondary school) were in agreement that volunteering was the main source of staffing in the development of the extended services on the ground.

Teachers' volunteering can be interpreted using Putnam's (1993) ideas. He found that levels of social capital were strongly correlated with a wide range of voluntary participation and high levels of trust in others. Later, Putnam (2004) argued that volunteering fosters more volunteering, in both formal and informal settings (p.121). In my study there is evidence of 'bridging' social capital (Putman, 2004) that shows links between headteacher, staff and teachers that were developed over time and enriched through their collaboration and trust. Putnam says that bridging (inclusive) social capital refers to relations with distant friends, associates and colleagues. These ties tend to be weaker and more diverse but more important in 'getting ahead'. The evidence suggests that volunteers have much closer and more direct relations with colleagues, and volunteering can be related to the development of social capital and trust within the schools.

It appears that teachers' personal empowerment was a fundamental consequence of volunteering. One could argue that the simple act of volunteering can be 'empowering' regardless of where the initiative comes from. Chrislip and Larson (1994) suggest that 'when people are engaged constructively and effectively with others around issues that affect them or that they care about, they can achieve tangible results – and, in the process, they will be empowered' (p.118). Furthermore, they claim that 'efforts to empower people so that they can solve their own problems are doomed to fail. No one can "empower" others' (Chrislip & Larson, 1994:118). Empowerment is especially manifested when participants see new possibilities and roles for themselves as leaders, and begin to act on those possibilities. The collaborative process helps identify potential leaders and make them more conspicuous (Chrislip & Larson, 1994:117).

The literature (e.g. Blase & Blase, 1999) suggests that as schools become more collaborative, collegial and democratic, they become more political. Indeed, as the discussion above suggests the current contradictions in policy dramatically impede the work of those who are trying to address inequity through collaboration within the UK education system. O'Neill (2000) maintains that while teacher collaboration within the school is accepted as uncontroversial and likely to attract universal endorsement, in effect it may be employed by secondary school heads of department to get staff 'to do things they really don't want to do'(p.19). This is what Hargreaves (1994) termed 'contrived collegiality'. He makes a fundamental criticism of collegiality, arguing that it is being espoused or 'contrived' by official groups to secure the implementation of national policy in England and elsewhere. He claims that genuine collegiality is spontaneous, voluntary, unpredictable, informal and geared to development. In contrast, contrived collegiality is administratively regulated rather than spontaneous; compulsory rather than discretionary; geared to the implementation of the mandates of government or the headteacher; fixed in time and place; designed to have predictable outcomes (Hargreaves, 1994:195/6). When teachers are working in a situation of contrived collegiality this leaves control in the hands of headteacher, so that it cannot be seen as 'empowerment'.

In the light of the above discussion it is important to state that the current study was not specifically designed to evaluate factors related to teachers' collaboration and teachers' volunteering, and whether or not these factors were forced or represented a genuine act of goodwill. Furthermore, enforced collaboration in some settings can transform into spontaneous/voluntary collaboration in the future, as people begin to trust each other or find that the results of collaboration are better than they had expected them to be.

Related to the empowerment of staff and teachers in schools it is also important to discuss the concept of 'distributed' leadership that was highlighted in my study. Firstly, it is necessary to make clear that delegation of tasks or dividing responsibilities according to role is not distributed leadership (Timperley, 2005). Secondly, according to the developmental model of distributed leadership (MacBeath, 2005), heads of schools may have to play a key role in the promotion of leadership capacity in their institutions: they can empower their colleagues and stimulate more leadership activity within the school (MacBeath, 2005:364).

In my study respondents in Lantana secondary school perceived their leadership practice as distributed. In contrast in Coroniola secondary school, respondents tended to speak about 'delegation' of tasks to some staff members. Some caution needs to be expressed in relation to these findings. As the literature shows (see Chapter 2, section 2.4.2.), the term 'distributed' leadership is contested and full of contradictions. Therefore, it seems there might be a danger of staff and school leaders identifying 'delegation' and 'distributed' leadership as essentially the same thing. Such findings are in line with the argument expressed by Hartley (2010) that 'distributed leadership is concerned with the tactics of delegation and not strategy, and that opportunities for authentic distributed leadership based on the participation of teachers and children are strictly limited'. This seems to be what happened in schools in this study. Therefore, whilst a definite case cannot be made that distributed leadership supports the effectiveness of inter-agency

collaboration, the findings from this study warrant further research to study further the possibility of this link.

Based on this discussion, this study, therefore, suggests that when teachers and staff members have an opportunity to be heard and to lead – they feel empowered. Chrislip and Larson (1994) suggest: ‘empowerment is something people must do for themselves but we can engage others in collaborative approaches to solving problems of shared concern and, in the process, realise the benefits of empowerment’ (p.119). The data in this study suggest that empowerment can increase self-confidence, self-belief and promote a greater desire to serve the organization. They also show that teachers’ personal empowerment can also be seen as a consequence of volunteering. Finally, teachers’ volunteering is related to the development of trust and social capital within the schools.

Empowering parents and community

The extended schools programme encouraged schools to strengthen linkages and relationships with parents, families and communities. This could be achieved through further community engagement and community empowerment strategies. Similarly, Hopkins (2007) argues that ‘moral purpose in school reform [...] is also about empowering communities’ (p.179).

It is important to make a clear distinction between ‘community engagement’ and ‘community empowerment’. Community organizations and community members could engage very actively with the extended schools programme but still fail to influence the process and consequently not be empowered by the experience.

From evidence in this study it is apparent that school leaders saw the engagement with families as an important part of their work, and gave priority to the early intervention

agenda, especially in nursery and primary schools. What seemed significant about the findings is the fact that more activities and work were organised with parents in nursery and primary schools than in secondary. Similar evidence was found in the literature (e.g. Harris & Goodall, 2008; Sanders & Epstein, 2000) that parents generally felt that engagement in learning activities in the primary school was easier and, on the other hand, there is a view (e.g. Sanders, 2008) that family involvement in students' learning is not important as children mature into adolescence and young adulthood.

The results highlighted a number of activities provided to boost parents' participation in schooling and parental engagement in learning of their children at home (see Chapter 5, section 5.7.3). These findings are in line with Coleman's (1988) idea that if there are strong relationships between children and parents, it means that social capital is present, and the children will profit from parents' human capital. Therefore, parental time spent with children could correspond to a notion of investment in human capital, though here, as Hammersley (2011), has commented 'there are dangers in assuming a narrow form of economic rationality'.

My study showed that some activities organised in schools were seen as an important strategy in fostering social capital. For example, the headteacher of Myosota primary school supported different sporting initiatives and events for parents and children (see Chapter 5, section 5.7.3). He saw sport activities as a strategy to encourage parents', particularly men's, engagement with their children's learning. An implication of this is the possibility to build bridging social capital not only between parents and the children but among parents. This has similarities with Putnam's (2004) argument that sports and the arts represent especially congenial contexts within which to build bridging social capital, because they are less immediately dependent upon verbal skills. This is particularly important in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, where people experience exclusion in other areas of life because of their lack of education and/or language skills and where therefore it is often a challenge for them to come to school or socialise. Thus, the conclusion here is

that joint sports and arts activities for parents and children also help to generate intergenerational closure (Coleman, 1988) that creates trustworthiness in a social structure with mutual trust serving as a key form of social capital. As Coleman (1988) argued there is no direct measure of intergenerational closure, but there is proximate indicator (p.S113): this is the number of times the child has changed schools because the family moved. For families that have moved often, the social relations that constitute social capital are broken at each move. Coleman (1988) claims that whatever the degree of intergenerational closure available to others in the community, it is not available to parents in mobile families. The results of this study indicate that many families moved in and out of the city and overall, as mentioned above, the communities were characterised as 'transient' (see Chapter 5, section 5.7.3 and Chapter 6, section 6.4.3). This is to suggest that the level of mutual trust and trustworthiness and consequently social capital in those communities was low.

This study suggests that schools were working hard to change the stereotypes about them held by some parents and members of the community, based on their own negative experience of schooling. From the evidence, it is apparent that when schools aimed at creating a culture of partnership (e.g. Daisy nursery school), and at being open and welcoming to parents and communities (e.g. Myosota and Lantana schools), then there was positive evidence of parents' engagement.

Evidence from this study indicates that teachers and school staff must see the community and different community groups as forces for change and not only as a source of problems. The literature (e.g. Henderson & Mapp, 2002; Abrams & Gibbs, 2000) suggests that to achieve successful collaboration school staff must be offered time and training to learn how to collaborate with community members and accept community members' new roles in the school. Support must also be provided for community members. Without adequate preparation, they are likely to continue to feel their outsider or subordinate status in the school. For example, in Myosota school staff were faced with a sensitive

question regarding when parents were allowed to use the staff room and when they were not allowed to go in. This supports the idea that teachers need to learn how to engage effectively with parents and the community as equal partners in education. However, it seems challenging as there is a danger of infringing on the rights and power of teachers as professionals. It would seem necessary for teachers to develop some practical strategies and clarify the limits of power sharing at the beginning in the meetings between teachers and parents and community groups.

This study highlighted some examples of parents and members of the community volunteering to run after school clubs (e.g. 'cheer leading' in Myosota school). Overall, it seems that community involvement in schools has the potential to assist children's learning and to increase the school's intellectual capital through the specific skills, experience, and inspiration that members of the community can offer. This reinforces the finding in the literature (e.g. Caldwell, 2008; Harris & Goodall, 2008; Simpson et al. 2003; Sanders, 2003; Abrams & Gibbs, 2000; Gilckman & Scally, 2008; Warren, 1997) that increased community involvement supports improvement in schools. Furthermore, volunteering is an effective way for people to feel empowered by the experience, to address issues of social exclusion and generate social trust. However, volunteering alone cannot address the structural causes of exclusion.

My research shows that a shift in fundamental power relationships between parents and schools did not occur: parents and communities were not empowered to any significant extent through the extended schools programme, to take actions on their own part or to contribute to the decision-making process. While face-to-face communication worked better than written communication, such as leaflets, as a respondent from a health agency commented: 'communities have been consulted to death and perhaps people have been rather naively asked "well what would you like", rather than "these are the sort of things that could be achieved, how do you think we should do them?". This concurs with an argument in the literature that 'consultation is a degree of tokenism' (Arnstein, 1969) that

does not really 'empower' communities. Of course, parents and community members are able to influence decision making as a collective on school-wide and community-wide levels by forming groups and organizations that assume the task of solving shared community needs. In discussing the consumer involvement, Mills et al (1997) stress that the aims and objective of projects:

'... must be part of a process of shaping decisions. And your project must carry some promise of change, or it will be merely a sham and the consumers involved will view it as such... don't perpetuate the tokenism of the past by proceeding with a project that you believe will not bring about any change' (pp.63-64).

One of the significant findings to emerge from this study is the importance of building interdependence within communities. The main argument is that without interdependence it is hard to build capacity within the community. As some respondents put it: 'we are going to continually fund these initiatives forever and a day' and 'if we just try to lead everything, as soon as we've gone it dies'. Providing activities for families and communities is not enough in itself, and it will not build social capital unless local people take control over it. The evidence from this study suggests that rather than entering a community with prescribed plans, it is essential to build upon the strengths and resources that already exist. Educating the local community in the roles and responsibilities of the programme enables them to manage and sustain the programme over time. The respondents suggested that the development of community champions and community leaders would help to build up ownership of the initiative within communities and, in turn, make it more likely that people embrace the activities that strengthen the community's resilience and resources.

Such findings are in line with Nahapiet and Ghoshal's (1998) argument that 'mutual interdependence provides the stimulus for the development of many organizationally embedded forms of social capital' (p.257). High levels of social capital usually are developed in contexts characterised by high levels of mutual interdependence (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). I suggest that mutual interdependence could be a powerful force with potential to support collaborative initiatives. The question is how mutual interdependence

is organised and established. The more community members feel ownership for partnership-working and contribute to it, then the better its prospects. It depends on how schools, community and partner agencies work together: it can be chaotic or organised, it can be mutually supporting or hindering.

In concluding this section, this study, therefore, suggests that an important part of collaborative leaders' practice is the development of a range of strategies to engage with parents and the local community. There is clear evidence that sport and arts activities are an effective way to engage with parents and community members in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Furthermore, sports and arts create a special context within which is easy to build 'bridging social capital' and create trustworthiness and mutual trust. The evidence suggests that community involvement in schools has the potential to assist children's learning and the school's intellectual capital through the specific skills, experience, and inspiration that members of the community can offer.

This study suggests that teachers need to learn how to engage effectively with parents and the community as equal partners in education.

Finally, one of the more significant findings to emerge from this study is that mutual interdependence can be a powerful force with potential to support collaborative initiatives, build social capital and advance toward the broader aim of community cohesion. That can be achieved through further community empowerment, development of community champions and creating a sense of ownership for the initiative.

Empowering partner agencies

The evidence from this study highlighted examples of collaborative projects between schools and partner agencies (see Chapter 5). A number of tensions emerged, however. The first one was the issue of territory, particularly the difficulty for partners to get access to the school (e.g. a Community Co-ordinator had difficulty in negotiating access), and/or the unwillingness of some partners to work on the school site (e.g. a tension in Daisy nursery school with health visitors). The findings have shown that, as collaborative leaders, headteachers negotiated and brokered agreements with partners, because as a respondent put it: 'there is not much point in kicking and screaming, you just have to try and bring people with you'.

A second tension was suspicion about partners' roles and aims. It is apparent that partner agencies had different preferences for their pattern of involvement in the extended schools agenda. A headteacher is traditionally seen as accountable for everything what happens in the school. Consequently, school leaders kept all partners' activities under strict scrutiny and if they were not happy they could stop it at any point. Similar evidence was observed in other studies (e.g. Atkinson et al., 2007; Muijs, 2007; Abrams & Gibbs, 2000): school leaders sometimes assume that the power they enjoy in their own schools would be extended to other agencies. This seemed to be what happened in Coroniola school in this study. According to the prospectus, 'Extended Schools: access to opportunities and services for all' (DfES, 2005), 'there is no expectation that teachers will deliver extended services nor is it necessary for the headteacher to be responsible for their management, although it may be appropriate that someone undertakes a co-ordination role'(p.23). The key statement is that 'extended schools are not about extended hours for teachers and headteachers' (DfES, 2005) but in reality in schools involved in the present study this did seem to be the case: there were observed examples of work overload with heads feeling responsible for the initiative.

As mentioned above, the issue of resources and their distribution between partners was also problematic. It became clear during interviews and observation of meetings that at least part of the motivation to collaborate was the wish to obtain government funding. The results from this study indicate that partner agencies and local authorities with direct control over funding held more power than a single school, or a cluster of schools. This suggests that inter-agency collaboration is a function of resource dependency. From the perspective of resource-dependency theory (Emerson, 1962), social relationships commonly entail 'ties of mutual dependence' (p.32). The main argument is that each party attempts to control or influence the other's activities. However, Huxham and Vangen (2005) argue that 'whilst the dependence renders individual members unable to enact the collective agenda on their own, typically any member has enough power to block the process of collaboration' (p.165). From evidence in this study it is apparent that headteachers had enough power and the right to say 'No' to collaborative activities, unless these were statutory. However, it appears that heads did not have real control over the funding from the local authority relating to the extended schools activities.

My study shows that people sometimes 'played politics' (e.g. heads in a cluster of schools were pushing the interests of individual organizations), and this has similarities with ideas of collaborative thuggery (e.g. Paton & Vangen, 2004; Huxham & Vangen, 2005): that sometimes anti-collaborative actions (i.e. a degree of manipulative and political behaviour) are essential to provide for the overall health of partnership. However, it was widely recognised that the political views of participants should not affect collaborative working. As a respondent from a partner agency put it: 'it is important to ensure that everyone who sits round the table together takes off any political hat that they wear'.

Nevertheless, as Bourdieu (1996) argues, as agents from diverse fields come together, they can draw on their position in the field in an attempt to shift power relations into

another field. Also power dynamics change over time because of staff turnover, and new partners influence the agenda in unpredictable ways.

Another tension was the issue of accountability. This study has shown that it was a challenge for people to collaborate in a quasi-marketized context where schools are held individually accountable for achievements. Having a formal agreement, such as a Service Level Agreement, was helpful and there appeared to be positive relations between partners in the present study. As a respondent from one of the schools commented about written agreements: 'both sides are fully aware of expectations and understandings about what they are giving and what they are receiving'.

One of the more significant findings to emerge from this study is that when headteachers are open-minded and willing to share power with partner agencies there is evidence of effective collaborative leadership practice and enthusiasm towards partnership working. The control over decision-making in an inter-agency context should be understood as being in some way shared. Furthermore, the findings of this study suggest that negotiating and compromising arguments, as well as brokering agreements with partners, are necessary elements of collaborative leadership practice.

Networking

The key role of school leaders in developing networks of relationships is well-documented in the literature (e.g. Hargreaves, 2003; Fullan, 2001). Participants in this study confirmed this. However, it was also argued that networking requires time, flexibility, determination and hard work on the part of the leader.

The results of this study indicate a complex system of networks in the city, with formal and informal networking structures. A formalised clustering system was imposed by the local authority that to some extent ignored already existing relationships between schools. For local authority officers, networking was seen as a possibility for enhanced engagement

with the extended schools programme across the authority. An *Extended Services Cluster* Coordinator was expected to encourage schools to work together and help partners to link with the schools. However, the results of this study showed that collaborative activities among schools within clusters were rare and participants recalled only a few joint projects. Overall, formal networking arrangements were seen as being not very efficient and not always an effective starting point.

Informal networks among schools in the city had existed for a long time but not all schools were involved in such networks – some worked alone. Headteachers had developed contacts through mobility between school positions, through friendship and other personal relationships. Furthermore, heads preferred to collaborate with like-minded partners.

The schools in this study demonstrated considerable diversity in networking. Some, like Daisy, Myosota and Lantana schools, had a history of involvement in networks and were confident and open to start a collaborative relationship, while for others, like Coroniola, school networking was rather problematic. Furthermore, the results of this study indicated that the headteacher's role has become multi-faceted often requiring representation of several institutions simultaneously (i.e. a school, the Children's Centre and a cluster of schools). In general, therefore, there is evidence of the 'centrality' of some leaders: some leaders had a central location in the network and the opportunity to control the flow of information and resources. A leader who is central evidently has better and faster access to information, advice and support, and this is directly related to a leader's personal reputation for leadership among followers, peers and others.

The results from this study have shown that motivation, enthusiasm, and good communication skills on the part of collaborative leaders support effective networking. Furthermore, the evidence suggests that personal relationships positively facilitate collaboration. Such findings are in line with the fundamental proposition of social capital theory that network ties provide access to resources: '*who you know*' affects '*what you*

know' (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998:252). Leaders' ties to specific sets of individuals can benefit group performance to the extent that the ties provide access to valuable resources. In my study the headteacher from Myosota school mentioned that the school received support for and was involved in a project at the local stadium because of his good relationships with the chairman of the football club. However, when personal relationships developed negatively, they limited collaboration and people often refused to collaborate. That was seen in the present study when two neighbour schools did not collaborate because of a conflict of personalities between headteachers and a culture of hostility.

This research agrees with the literature about the importance of the transfer of knowledge and practice through networks (e.g. Howes & Frankham, 2009; Hargreaves, 2003; Hatcher, 2008). A range of professional conferences, seminars, inter-agency events were seen by participants (particularly true the headteacher of Myosota school) as an opportunity to share and learn about new ideas and good practice. Therefore, networks facilitate the flow of information and dissemination of professional knowledge.

One of the more significant findings to emerge from this study is that participants were quite selective whilst networking. Respondents preferred networking not only with like-minded people but also with powerful and influential partners. For example, the headteacher from Myosota school commented that he had a very few links with the schools in the local area because 'they are small and compete for children', so he was networking with schools in another area of the city and 'organizations greater than schools'. The headteacher was referring to the 'Education Improvement Partnership' – a strongly bounded group with a long history and a strongly collaborative disposition. In general, therefore, what we see here is the fact that networks have a potential to exclude some 'weak' members. This finding has similarities with the literature (e.g. Bourdieu, 1986; Zacharakis & Flora, 2005) that networks and networking can serve to exclude as well as include, and to consolidate power as well as to share power.

This is significant because networks with closure are a source of social capital. Network closure is argued to do two things for people in the closed network. First, it gives access to information of high quality and relevance (Coleman, 1990:310; Coleman, 1988:S:104). Second, and this is also emphasized by Coleman, network closure facilitates sanctions that make it less risky for people in the network to trust one another. Thus, dense networks facilitate trust and the operation of norms by facilitating effective sanctions. Granovetter (1992:44) argues that the threat of sanctions makes trust more likely between people who have mutual friends (mutual friends being a condition of 'structural embeddedness'). The issue of trust will be further explored in the next section.

In my study network closure was described as 'super links' by the headteacher of Myosota school. However, whilst closed networks facilitate group solidarity and sanctioning, they do not facilitate access to new resources. This relates to the distinction between bonding and bridging social capital (Warren et al. 2001). Putnam (2004) argues that 'a modern pluralistic democracy has special need for bridging social capital'. Thus, 'leaders in every modern society today need to be especially concerned about fostering networks and trust that bridge divisions' (Putnam 2004:5).

The findings of this study suggest that networks are not static but dynamic entities. The literature (e.g. Watts, 2003) indicates two kinds of network dynamic: one is where its structure may evolve with new ties being made and 'old' ones broken; another is where people do something (e.g. adopt a new practice) and they are influenced in this decision by their neighbours (Watts, 2003:54-5). My study showed that when old links had broken because of staff turnover, it took some time to build up new links. Therefore, collaborative leaders have to master bridging skills and be willing to build new ties and trust.

In the context of this study I conclude that collaborative leadership practice places high importance on networks and networking. The results of this investigation are in line with

the literature (e.g. Putnam, 2004) that social networks can be a powerful asset, both for individuals and for communities. In Putnam's (1995) words, 'dense networks of interaction probably broaden the participants' sense of self, developing the "I" into the "we," or enhancing the participants' "taste" for collective benefits' (Putnam, 1995:67). Despite these promising characteristics, there are certain aspects which need to be considered as well. Taken together the results from this study suggest that effective networking is seldom purely consensual but often involves tension and contradictions. Furthermore, network closure can exclude weak members and those who are regarded as unimportant. Therefore, collaborative leaders in inter-organizational settings when bridging different people and groups together have to be aware of this and be ready to address the conflicting issues of power and influence. The primary focus of leader as collaborator needs to be on the 'process' of how people work together to solve problems.

7.3.3 *Leader as Supporter*

The evidence from this study suggests that the collaborative leader as supporter works with people to enhance their competence and commitment to the organizational vision, mission and aims of collaboration. Some school leaders (e.g. in Myosota primary school and in Daisy nursery school) had adjusted well to their changing roles and had become enthusiasts for the extended schools programme and inter-agency collaborative working. These school leaders felt that they were likely to achieve more while at the same time supporting teachers' and parents' aspirations by being open and optimistic. Furthermore, this study showed that the leader as supporter has a participatory, democratic style of management, and also inspires staff to become more enthusiastic about their work. These results have similarities with the literature (e.g. Huxham & Vangen, 2005; Chrislip & Larson, 1994): collaborative leaders are needed to build broad-based involvement to make things happen.

Overall, this study revealed that the collaborative leader as supporter is focused on building trusting relationships.

Building trust

The results of this study are in line with the argument in the literature (e.g. Huxham & Vangen, 2005) that it takes some years to build trust in collaborative settings unless there is an existing history of collaboration, such as in Lantana school. It is clear that extended schools activities often had a short-term and fragmented character and, in general, therefore, it seems there had not been enough time for trusting relationships to develop between partners.

In principle, regardless of how much formal power partners have, within an inter-agency collaborative context, all participants remain dependent on others to achieve desired aims. School leaders, for example, need teachers' support to maintain the smooth running of clubs for children, and to sustain engagement with parents and the community. Teachers are also dependent on headteachers in terms of supportive work conditions and opportunities for their professional development. This suggests that such dependencies create a sense of mutual vulnerability for all individuals involved. Hence, this study agrees with an idea in the literature (e.g. Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2009; Mayer et al., 1995) that actions undertaken to reduce the sense of vulnerability in others build trust. Within an inter-agency collaborative context partners interact with one another around the collaborative agenda, and they constantly monitor the intentions embedded in practice and the action of other people. In general, therefore, this study showed that people were building relational trust. Bryk and Schneider (2002) suggest four vital dimensions for identifying and assessing relational trust: *respect, personal regard, competence in core role responsibilities, and personal integrity* (see Section 2.5.1).

Respectful exchange was seen as essential and as requiring genuine listening on the part of leaders to people within their own organizations as well as to external partners. Participants believed that it was important to consider and respect different views and the ethnic and cultural background of children and parents. There was an example, in a nursery school, where the headteacher showed deep knowledge about cultural traditions of Bangladeshi families. The collaborative leader as supporter has more chance of success in building trust if respect is shown in the social interaction with colleagues, partners, parents and community members.

School leaders in this study demonstrated personal regard and an ethic of care, as well as integrity of a high degree in dealing with teachers and school staff (e.g. the headteacher of Myosota school treated teachers with respect and valued them as professionals – see Chapter 6, sections 6.3.3 and 6.3.4). Furthermore, school leaders showed openness and willingness to reach out to parents and community members. This has similarities with what previous researchers have reported (e.g. Tschannen-Moran, 2004; Bryk & Schneider, 2002; Bennis & Goldsmith, 1994), that when school leaders practise empathy, consistency and integrity, and the staff and community can see it, then this practice creates trustworthiness. Meanwhile, Putnam (2000) argues that 'people who trust others are all-round good citizens, and those more engaged in community life are both more trusting and trustworthy' (p.137). Furthermore, for Putnam (2000), collaborative action is facilitated by generalized norms of trust and trustworthiness. Similarly, Coleman (1988) maintained that 'a group within which there is extensive trust is able to accomplish much more than a comparable group without trustworthiness and trust' (p.101). This seems to be what happened in Myosota and Daisy schools, with teachers and staff involved in the extended schools activities because of trust and trustworthiness between school leaders and teachers.

As this study illustrates, role competence was an important dimension in building trust. This was a major factor in the negative relations between some schools and the local

authority. Overall, participants heavily criticised the practice of the local authority as being bureaucratic and incompetent in some key respects. Consequently there was evidence of mistrust in those relationships. A positive example of role competence was seen in Myosota school: the headteacher had been working in the school for nearly thirty years and was trusted by teachers and had built a good reputation in the community.

There is evidence to suggest that the personal integrity of leaders working in collaborative contexts was guided by a high moral and ethical perspective and commitment to the Every Child Matters agenda and welfare of children and the community. For example, the majority of respondents saw addressing the ECM outcomes as a connecting mechanism for all partners to work together regardless of disagreements on some issues. It seems that without bonding and bridging relationships, and support for the aims of the ECM agenda, effective inter-agency collaboration is difficult to achieve and sustain in the contexts I have investigated. The evidence suggests that, to be able to succeed, a collaborative leader needs to build relational trust based on respect, competence, personal regard and integrity.

This study has found that relational trust is more likely to occur within a small school than in a big school (e.g. Daisy nursery school, Myosota primary school). This concurs with Putnam's (2004) idea that smaller towns and schools display higher levels of trust and encouragement.

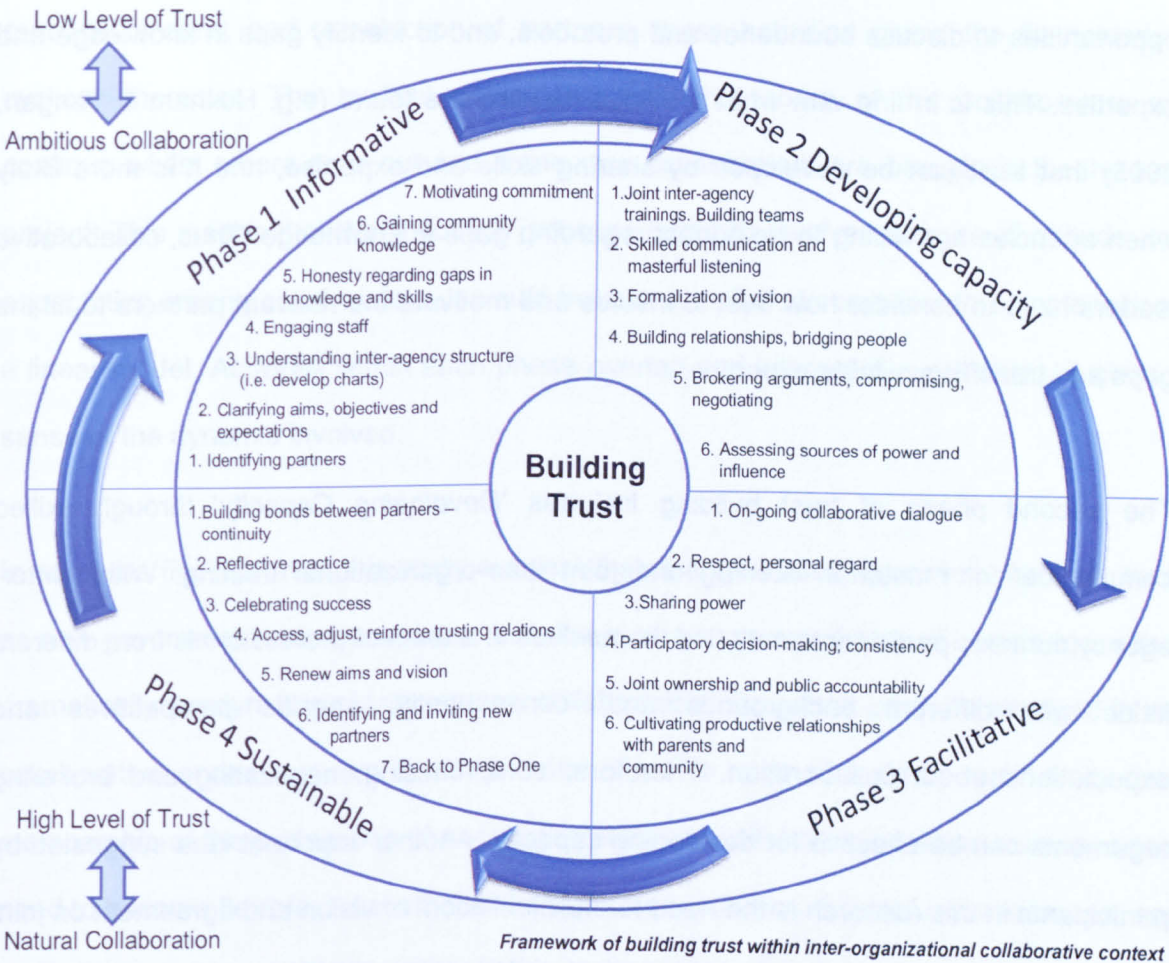
In the light of the findings it is clear that goodwill and trust were developed in Myosota school on the basis of the experience and moral reputation of the headteacher. According to the literature (e.g. Purdue, 2001), goodwill implies reciprocity in that it depends on the return of goodwill in open-ended commitment and the development of shared goals. As already discussed in this chapter, there was evidence of goodwill and volunteering by teachers and by parents. And we have seen that volunteering is strongly related to social capital. Reciprocity was also regarded as important within inter-agency context by

participants in this study. A respondent put it: 'you have to be a giving partner'. This is in line with Putman's (2000) argument that the touchstone of social capital is the principle of generalized reciprocity: 'I'll do this for you now, without expecting anything immediately in return and perhaps without even knowing you, confident that down the road you or someone else will return the favour' (p.134-36). Furthermore, Putman (2000) claims that 'a society that relies on generalized reciprocity is more efficient than a distrustful society...and honesty and trust lubricate the inevitable frictions of social life' (p.135).

Overall, this research has shown that trust and respect between partners turned out to be at the core of what would lead to the success or failure of efforts at creating a more collaborative working environment. Although trust can lead to more productive collaboration, trust is not a necessary condition for collaboration to occur. This has similarities with Mayer et al's. (1995) suggestion that an employee could act as if trusting other employees without actually trusting them. From evidence in this study, it is apparent that school leaders had to collaborate with officers from the local authority despite the lack of trust toward the local authority.

My study is in line with the literature (e.g. Bottery, 2003; Huxham & Vangen, 2005; Macmillan et al., 2005) in finding that trust is a developmental process from the lower level to the highest level of trust. Participants in the present study shared their views about what would be the best approach in building trust within an inter-agency context. Therefore, based on the results from interviews and drawing on the relevant literature (e.g. Huxham & Vangen, 2005; Coleman, 2008; Rubin, 2009; Bottery, 2003) it has been possible to construct an alternative framework regarding building trust which is grounded in this research. The metaphor of life-cycle can illustrate the dynamics of trust in an inter-agency collaborative context (see Figure 3 below).

Figure 3 Framework of building trust within inter-agency collaborative context



The framework includes four phases. The first phase of the life cycle of building trust is ‘*Informative*’ where the level of trust is incipient, when participants engaged in partnership work have uncertainty about each others aims, roles and contribution to make. The collaboration could be seen as having an ambitious character as participants have not yet negotiated joint aims and strategies. At this stage, the Every Child Matters agenda and the extended schools programme were seen as a united mechanism for partners to modify their differences in orientation and programmes. Therefore, there is an incipient or low level of trust at the first phase. Respondents in the current study commented that clear aims and objectives, expectations and understanding regarding inter-agency structure, clear roles and status demarcation are necessary for building trust. Although, as this study illustrated, in practice it could still be a challenging task to achieve. This has similarities with arguments by Huxham and Vangen (2005) that practitioners frequently expressed frustration at not having been able to reach clarity and agreement about aims.

Furthermore, as results from this study have shown, agreeing purposes provides opportunities to discuss boundaries and protocols, and to identify gaps in knowledge and expertise. This is in line with what previous researchers found (e.g. Huxham & Vangen, 2005) that trust can be developed by sharing skills and expertise, and it is more likely when agencies are willing to be honest regarding gaps in knowledge. Thus, collaborative leaders have to consider how best to involve and motivate the relevant partners to fill the gaps and transfer available expertise.

The second phase of trust building includes '*Developing Capacity*' through skilled communication, masterful listening and joint inter-organizational training. Within inter-agency contexts participants may find themselves in a team of professionals from different fields with different backgrounds and, consequently, specific perspectives and expectations about collaboration. Therefore, compromising, negotiating and brokering arguments can be effective for developing capacity. Another important idea suggested by participants in this research is the need for 'formalisation' of vision and agreement on joint activities, which concurs with the literature (e.g. Allonck et al., 2006; Huxham & Vangen, 2005). This stage includes building relationships and bridging groups of people. Partners also need to have clarity about sources of power and influence and who brings what to the partnership and how resources are distributed.

The '*Facilitative*' phase is based on on-going collaborative dialogue and participatory decision-making, respect and personal regard. This stage presents a strong level of trust. This is in line with Bryk and Schneider's (2002) idea that strong trust leads to collective decision-making. Collaborative leaders are able to share power with staff, teachers, parents and partners.

The '*Sustainable*' phase presents a high level of trust when partners can reflect on their work and achievements. This study showed that mutual reflection on mistakes and successes could help to sustain trusting relations. It is also important to monitor the

impact of collaborative activities, which in turn may lead to a reanalysis of the context, renewal of aims, and re-selection of partners, these activities giving the framework a cyclical character. The cyclical nature suggests that some of the collaborators will continue whilst others drop out and some new collaborators are brought in for the new project. This means that the 'induction' process ought to involve changes of attitude and expectation among collaborators. It would be over-simplistic to consider this framework as a linear model. Activities within each phase overlap and interact. Nevertheless, it gives a sense of the dynamic involved.

In sum, the findings from this study suggest that changes in environmental context, such as new government policies and new initiatives, as well as new forms of knowledge, affect dramatically the dynamic of inter-agency collaboration. Therefore, partners engaged in the collaborative endeavour may need to restart the 'life cycle of building trust' every time membership of the partnership changes. Furthermore, collaborative leaders as supporters need to become flexible, innovative and adaptive to changing external circumstances, and as Tschannen-Moran (2009) suggests this is more likely to be possible in an atmosphere of high trust.

This study also makes clear that each inter-agency collaborative context is unique and that no single approach can be assured to secure organizational trust. Building trust, therefore, across the boundaries of organizations cannot be guaranteed and trust needs to be continually constructed and re-constructed. On-going and transparent communication at all levels in all forms becomes imperative. Furthermore, collaborative leaders need to demonstrate their personal commitment to partnership working and to the cause of collaboration through their values and behaviour. In addition, consistency in decision-making on a day-to-day basis helps to develop relational trust. Given whatever other resources people have, including funding and expertise, when people trust each other, as a result of the social capital generated, they are more likely to achieve collective aims.

7.4 Summary

We can identify a number of key themes that have emerged from this discussion:

The key principle of the extended schools philosophy is that improving the quality of what happens within schools needs to be supported by simultaneous interventions in what happens to children in their families and in the community. The UK Government's expectation was that schools would have to become involved in tackling a series of social problems in the local communities, such as poor health, low skills, poor parenting, anti-social behaviour, unemployment and so on. By solving difficulties of local people in communities, there is more chance to improve educational attainment, and give young people the knowledge and skills which will enable them to compete in the labour market, and will open opportunities to those most excluded in deprived communities. Thus, the role of schools was seen as a vehicle for bringing about basic transformations in local cultures.

Educational policy implementation is strictly contextual and dependent upon a series of political, cultural, economic and social factors. The complexity of educational contexts in England has resulted in a high level of uncertainty felt by front-line professionals. School leaders have to find their own responses to the challenging questions and invent their own solutions and practical strategies, while simultaneously addressing the Government's policy agenda. The lack of attention to the contextual dynamics of schools and communities has decreased the chances of partner agencies making necessary interventions. The strong message from this study is that the extended schools programme needs to be better balanced, taking account of the impact of poverty and of the gap between affluent and deprived areas on the lives of children, their families and local communities

In the *school-centred* view, schools were described in relation to the local communities they serve. Schools were seen as a service base for children and the school's main task as providing quality education of children; the key issue was how the extended schools programme could help to achieve that. By engaging with different activities provided in schools, especially in disadvantaged communities, young people and their families have a chance to escape the cycle of disadvantage and improve life chances. In the *community-centred* view, schools were perceived as a 'hub' and resource for the community and/or a base that could be used by partner agencies for providing their professional services by using facilities available in schools. The main advantage of the community-centred understanding is 'accessibility' of services not only educational but health, retail and other professional resources provided on the school site for families and local communities. According to this view, extended schools can be seen as 'appropriable social organizations' (Coleman, 1988) which can not only assist educational purpose but build social capital more generally.

This study showed how there are inconsistencies in policy making, and demonstrated how, despite their efforts, schools find it increasingly difficult to balance the often competing demands of providing high quality education in terms of academic achievement whilst also meeting the needs of children and their families in a more holistic manner by implementing the extended schools programme. Therefore, while this research recognises some promising developments, it also shows that contradictions in policy place inconsistent demands upon schools, and dramatically hinder the impact schools are able to make, particularly on students and communities in disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

The personal transformation of leaders is a central part of collaborative leadership practice. Good quality inter-professional training events were seen as a critical

factor that prepares people for work within collaborative contexts. Collaborative leaders have to create environments that support good communication and dialogue between partners. Informal means of communication are not only a source of information and knowledge exchange, but also a strategy for networking and building trust between people. A message arising from the research is to use activities as a way to talk to people and find what makes them 'tick', rather than focusing entirely on outcomes. An implication of this is the possibility of gaining knowledge about wider community needs and capacity.

The ability to reflect on one's experience to try to assess the significance of what has happened, and then try to modify it, is an important collaborative leadership practice. Shared experience and reflective practice are critical to the process of continuing development and on-going learning, and also to becoming more effective as a collaborative leader. The process of creating knowledge serves as a meaning-making function for the collaborative leaders to be clear about their goals, values and what should be done. Collaborative leaders learn and understand the context before acting.

The results illustrated that leadership is both influenced by and impacts on followers. The headteachers' behaviour seemed related to staff willingness to engage with the extended school programme. When teachers and staff members have an opportunity to be heard and to lead, they feel empowered. It seems that empowerment can increase self-confidence, self-belief and promote a greater desire to serve the organization. My study shows that teachers' personal empowerment can also be seen as a consequence of volunteering. Furthermore, teachers' volunteering is related to the development of trust and social capital within schools.

An important part of collaborative leaders' practice is the development of a range of strategies to engage with parents and the community. There is clear evidence that sport and arts activities are an effective way to engage with parents and community members in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Furthermore, sports and arts create a special context within which it is easier to build bridging social capital and create trustworthiness and mutual trust.

Community involvement in schools has the potential to assist children's learning and the school's intellectual capital through the specific skills, experience, and inspiration that members of the community can offer. More importantly, however, parents and community members may be able to influence decision making as a collective on school-wide and community-wide levels by forming groups and organizations that assumed the task of solving shared community needs. Volunteering by parents and members of community can also stimulate the development of social capital.

Mutual interdependence can be a powerful force with potential to support the pursuit of collaborative initiatives, build social capital and advance towards the broader aim of community cohesion. This can be achieved through further community empowerment, the development of community champions and creating a sense of ownership for the initiative. Collaborative leadership in an inter-agency context must be understood as being in many ways shared. Furthermore, negotiating and compromising arguments and brokering agreements with partners are necessary elements of collaborative leadership practice.

Collaborative leadership practice places a high importance on networks and networking. Motivation, enthusiasm, and good communication skills of collaborative leaders support effective networking. Networks facilitate the flow of information and the dissemination of professional knowledge. However, networks

and networking can serve to exclude as well as include, and to consolidate power as well as to share power. This study suggests that effective networking is seldom simply consensual but often involves tensions and contradictions. Thus, collaborative leaders when bridging between different people and groups have to be aware and ready to address the conflicting issues of power and influence. The primary focus of leader as collaborator needs to be on the 'process' of how people work together to solve problems.

An inter-agency collaborative context is unique and no single approach can secure relational trust. Building trust across the boundaries of organizations, therefore, cannot be guaranteed and needs to be continually constructed and re-constructed. On-going and transparent communication at all levels in all forms becomes imperative. Furthermore, collaborative leaders need to demonstrate their personal commitment to partnership working and to the cause of collaboration through their values, behaviour, and consistency in decision-making on a day-to-day basis and that helps to develop relational trust. Given whatever other resources people have, including funding and expertise, when people trust each other, then there is evidence that social capital will develop, and people are more likely to achieve collective aims.

In conclusion, this research has shown that extended schools have much to offer. Evidence from this study speaks about the positive impact of the extended schools on the educational and life chances of children, their parents and, in some cases on the well-being of communities. The evidence that is available in the literature also seems to point toward a promising conclusion (e.g. Dyson, 2009; Henderson & Mapp, 2002). However, the problem of sustaining the extended schools initiative, and enthusiasm for the initiative, over the long term is a challenge for which as yet there are no satisfactory answers. It is likely in the current policy climate that researchers need to focus their attention on this

aspect of the educational reform movement, to ensure that effective agendas and practice are sustainable for the longer term.

This research has shown that the success of collaborative reform efforts and the improvement of schools rely on a leader's skilful implementation of the collaborative process. The framework of the leader as *learner, collaborator and supporter* which was developed throughout this research has practical and functional uses and is an effective way of understanding leadership practices within a complex inter-organizational context. Nevertheless, the model of collaborative leadership outlined here should be further tested to determine its applicability to other contexts involving schools, communities, and partner agencies.

This study has shown the value of the concept of social capital as it calls attention to the essential role of strong relations among people in organizations and communities, and more widely in society. These relationships are the foundation for all organized collective effort, including collaborative endeavour of all types. The results from this study suggest that not only can schools help people in the community develop social capital and form connections to the schools, an equally important task in collaboration is to develop social capital within the school by increasing its connections with and trust in the community. The key ideas discussed in this chapter are summarised in a Figure 4 'Collaborative leadership and social capital' which is presented below.

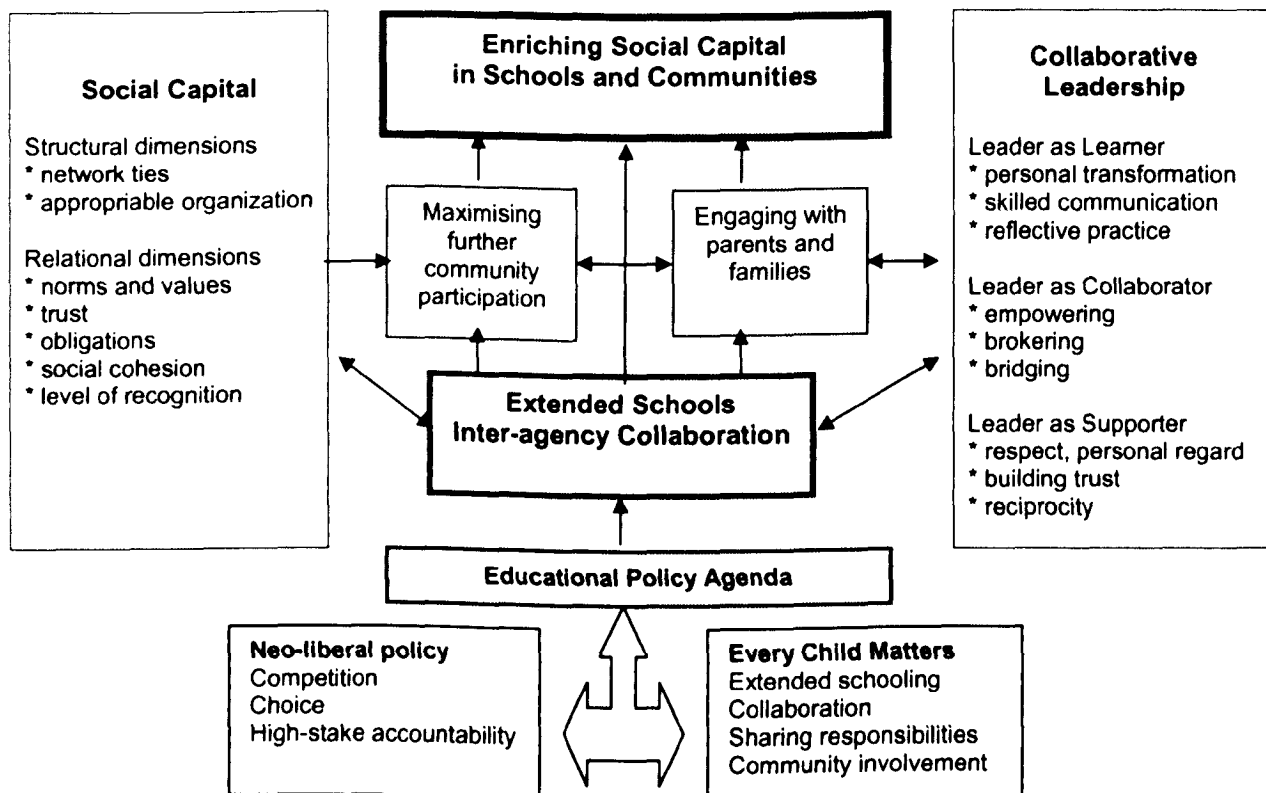


Figure 4 Collaborative leadership and social capital

As a model, Figure 4 can be a useful tool for analysis in both studies of leadership and of inter-organizational collaboration. It is necessary to consider the various elements of social capital and collaborative leadership presented in the right and left boxes to assess the strength of inter-agency collaboration. Evidence of collaborative leadership built upon social capital was apparent in this study. The dimensions of collaborative leadership developed throughout this study could be effectively applied for maximising community participation and engaging with parents and families. The common strategic goal for the inter-organizational collaboration is to enrich social capital in schools and communities through the development of everyone involved. However, this model is not a 'blueprint' for practitioners. As it stressed elsewhere in this work, each collaborative context is unique and partners will need to develop their own understanding of contradictions in educational policy as illustrated in the lower boxes of the model. The Figure 4 highlights the relationships between key elements of context and practice and provides the basis for further research questions.

Chapter 8. Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with a summary of key issues and themes generated throughout this study. It then outlines implications for theory, policy and practice. The chapter ends with some final comments suggesting topics for future studies. Finally, there are some reflections on my intellectual journey studying in carrying out this research.

8.2 Synthesis of Key Themes Emerging From The Study

8.2.1 Perceptions of the Extended Schools Programme

The purpose of the current study was to determine how leaders in schools, a local authority, and partner agencies perceive the extended schools programme and which leadership practices promote the development of extended schools activities on the ground. The findings suggest that, in general, participants were in agreement about the value of the extended schooling programme, particularly that it had a positive effect on children's learning and improved their life chances, parents' engagement with education, and, more broadly, community well-being. Despite the fact that the idea of 'extended schools' or community schools has a relatively long history, this study has shown that there is no single consistent rationale for this model of schooling.

There were seen to be two perspectives on extended schools programme. First, a school-centred view adopted mainly by educational professionals: that the main task of a school is to provide quality education for children, and so that the extended schooling is judged in terms of how it can help schools to achieve their goals. Second, there is a community-centred perspective supported by other professionals which treats schools as a resource for their communities and a base for providing professional services, and which emphasizes community members' use of school's facilities. From the former perspective

some professionals in schools were hesitant to see local people in communities as partners. Advocates of the community-centred view believed that schools have a role to play in transforming dysfunctional cultures in local communities and building community cohesion. Therefore, this means that different professionals were trying to shape the extended schools programme in accordance with their own views and consequently their motivations, contributions and expectations varied.

There is another conflicting issue clearly seen in this study. While, on the one hand, the extended schools programme was seen as having a potential to build community-based social capital around holistic provision of services, engaging with families and community members, on the other hand, children's, families' and communities' needs in areas of deprivation derived from a range of social and economic factors for which schools cannot fully compensate alone. Broadly, disadvantage is not overcome by extended schooling and/or by inter-organizational collaboration.

8.2.2 Perceptions of Leadership Practices

In the contemporary educational context in England, schools are expected to work simultaneously with a range of related initiatives. This study showed that professionals faced uncertainties about how to implement government educational agendas because of complexity and contradiction among some programmes and a lack of support and guidance. Therefore, as a consequence of this, the role of local professionals has changed. It seems that 'rather than being simply implementers of centrally designed initiatives, they become policy makers in their own right' (Ozga, 2000). However, the opportunity to be 'creative' and to design their 'own' solutions to local problems did not work well within a rigid Ofsted accountability system which places on school leaders (among a number of other responsibilities) a duty to promote community cohesion (DCSF, 2007).

Overall, the results of this research indicate that practitioners on the ground implementing the extended schools programme had to rely on their own vision and interpretations. As Ball (1997) identifies, 'policies pose problems to their subjects, problems that must be solved in context' (p. 270). Indeed, this study suggests that such problems are not easily solved in the complex organizational context of short-term inter-agency partnership working.

This study has shown that the development of the extended schools programme is not an easy task, given the many contextual influences and the time and energy needed from practitioners in schools and partner agencies. There was considerable variation in respect of the extended services activities provided in schools involved in this study. Among the main determinant factors influencing the selection of specific extended services activities were: the needs of children and their families, schools' internal capacity and available personnel. Furthermore, the high levels of complexity and variability of extended services affected the evaluation of its effectiveness and overall impact of the programme.

Inevitably, inter-agency collaboration and leadership practice around extended schools provision looked different from school to school. While in some schools leaders had mastered entrepreneurial skills, in others there was general apathy towards the programme. This study also showed that some leaders had developed more democratic and empowering leadership approaches in order to inspire others and generally increase staff commitment.

The findings reveal that developing effective leadership practice in inter-agency settings requires deep understanding of the impact of the organizational milieu, and knowledge of communities. What clearly emerged from this study was the fundamental importance of communication (and in some cases observed lack of communication) between people involved in inter-agency collaborative working, as well as between schools, families and

communities. Openness of schools to parents', and to community involvement, was one of the keys to effective leadership practice.

The growth of trust is another crucial requirement in helping to make an inter-agency collaboration work. This was evident in all schools involved in the study. Trust helped to lower the cost of cooperation and make people more willing to share information and contribute to the extended schools programme. However, time is needed for building trust, with the result that collaborative relationships within inter-agency settings develop quite slowly and is made more difficult if personnel change.

In general, this study has shown that promoting aspects of social capital - such as networks, trust, and shared values and norms - is important for effective inter-agency collaboration. However, there is a danger of idealising collaboration and ignoring issues of power and politics that continue to play a key role within networks.

8.3 Implications For Policy And Practice

The main intention of this study was to investigate the implementation of the extended schools programme and leadership practice in an inter-organizational context involving schools, the local authority and partner agencies. Taken together, the results of my study provide an 'option catalogue' for policy and for those who practise leadership in schools and community-based educational settings.

First, complexity is a central characteristic of any inter-agency collaborative context and this should not be ignored by policy-makers in their desire to implement partnership working. Many different factors interact with each other to influence the development of collaboration. This research has shown that such complexity did not stop the majority of school leaders from carrying out their work by prioritising what was good for the children and for the school, though it is also true that some headteachers felt de-motivated. Thus, I

suggest that the policy-makers need to make sure that their policies at least do not contradict each other, since such contradictions increase the complexity of an already complex situation. Furthermore, an on-going consultation mechanism can be an effective strategy to support professionals on a regular basis. In addition, it would be good practice to show practitioners that government agencies collaborate themselves while requiring schools to work in partnership.

Second, the results of this study indicate that inter-agency collaboration does not occur automatically, and some formal training in collaboration regarding how to build, develop and sustain relationships with people from different organizations is necessary. This was highlighted by the example of a headteacher who had participated in a one year training programme based on 'joined-up working' of professionals from a range of organizations. This was an 'eye opening experience', and helped the headteacher be more prepared for inter-organizational collaborative working. Interestingly, evidence from other research (e.g. Atkinson et al., 2007) suggests that a 'staff loan' programme, by allowing representatives of a collaborating agency to be loaned to another agency and housed in that office, could assist with professional learning and understanding of other agencies.

It also emerged from this study that there is a need for more focused professional preparation programmes which will help to build teachers' capacity to work with parents and community members in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. This approach to training would help teachers to see parents and community members as partners in schools – a development observed in the practices in the nursery and primary school in this study. Perhaps professional preparation for collaboration should begin during the pre-service stage of teacher training.

This study has shown that parents' engagement with children's education is important in terms of social capital and human capital development. However, the literature (e.g. Sanders, 2005; McMahon et al., 2000) recognises that parental involvement in schooling

is a complex, multi-determined phenomenon. According to evidence from this study, sport and arts activities as well as adult education classes were seen as effective ways to engage with parents. It may be that more programmes based on sport, arts and other social activities need to be developed and introduced in the extended schools programme.

Equally, I suggest that the local authority needs to involve community representatives when developing community engagement strategies and programmes at the local level. Similarly, community and voluntary organizations could play an important role in this process. If, as the key policy documents claim, collaboration is about 'joined up working', then this must also include effective 'joined up thinking'.

One possibility here would be creating a peer-group or network of extended schools leaders at the national level, as for example with the Coalition for Community Schools in the USA (see: <http://www.communityschools.org>). The network could be an important focal point of contact about support, sharing good practice, information exchange, and offer powerful levers in bidding for funding. Furthermore, the fact that the community schools movement is getting stronger in many countries (e.g. in the US, Canada, South Africa, Australia, Central and Eastern Europe: see, for example, <http://www.cs-network.ru>) suggests that this is an important part of educational reform strategies and that much could be learned from what is happening elsewhere.

Lastly, these implications also suggest that the focus of policy needs to be broadened even further if the small and localised impacts of extended schooling are to become larger scale. The UK Government's current emphasis on an expansion of the Academies Programme and the importing of the Swedish 'Free Schools' need to be handled sensitively and not ignore what has been achieved by previous educational initiatives.

8.4 Implications For Theory

The present study contributes to knowledge in the organizational and educational literature in several ways. First, the ways of working developing within inter-agency collaborative contexts challenge traditional leadership theories. Until relatively recently, much writing on leadership tended to focus on single organizations. Traditionally, school leaders and partnership leaders are researched independently as two different phenomena. The growth of networks, collaboration and partnerships, therefore, raises an obvious question: are additional or different skills and behaviours required for effective leadership in these contexts? *In this thesis I offer a framework through which to examine collaborative leadership practices in an inter-agency context. The framework of collaborative leadership which is built around categories of leader as learner, leader as collaborator and leader as supporter provides a flexible and useful approach to understand the ways in which leadership operates on a daily basis in an inter-organizational environment. Although there are some attempts at conceptualisation of collaborative leadership in the literature (e.g. Rubin 2009; Chrislip & Larson, 1994), they often overlook the various paradoxes arising in inter-organizational collaborative settings. This study, therefore, contributes an original framework for understanding collaborative leadership.*

Second, this study offers a new perspective in employing social capital theory to understand how collaboration and leadership practice can be supported through shared norms, networks and building trust. This theory enriches understanding of the potential of school-community relationships. Social capital functions as social 'glue' by bridging and bonding schools, communities and partner agencies. A social capital perspective emphasises the need for good communication, the building of mutual trust with parents and communities, and the development of networks within which good practice and information can be shared.

Lastly, this research provides empirical evidence of extended schools activities and inter-agency collaboration in practice in ways that contribute to developing the theory of collaborative advantage. While there is a growing body of research on the extended schools programme (e.g. Cummings et al., 2011; Middlewood & Parker, 2009; Dyson, 2009; Raffo & Dyson, 2007, Muijs, 2007) and inter-agency collaboration (e.g. McKimm & Phillips, 2009), there is limited evidence about leadership practices across a range of organizations, schools and the communities involved in partnership working. Therefore, this study contributes important empirical evidence that could be considered in the further development of leadership strategies within inter-organizational and multi-professional contexts. In addition, it adds to our understanding of how to improve schools' engagement with parents and community members so as to build social capital.

Overall, the present study suggests that there is an urgent need for more sustained work among government agencies, schools and communities to better understand how to meet the specific needs and challenges of children and communities in deprived neighbourhoods, and to develop realizable strategies and solutions.

8.5 Suggestions For Future Projects

The results of this study have significant implications for further research projects in a range of fields: school-family-community partnership, comparative studies, leadership, social capital, and inter-agency collaboration.

Future studies may benefit from an examination of students' and parents' perspectives, as well as researching communities more widely in their response to the extended schools programme. This study has also shown a need for indicators and measurement procedures which make it possible to evaluate the benefits of extended services for children, their parents and the communities. There have been some initiatives to assess

the impact of extended schooling so far. For example, there is an ongoing five-year (2009-2014) project entitled National Evaluation of Extended Services, concerned with 'What impacts do extended services have on schools, young people, families and communities?'⁸. However, some cross-national comparative study, for example comparing extended schools in England with community schools in the US, and in Russia, might also be worthwhile. This would be a valuable contribution to the development of the community schools movement worldwide. There is an interest in and a need for comparative studies.

Further development and operationalisation of the collaborative leadership framework proposed in this thesis would benefit leadership theory and practice as well as research on inter-organizational collaboration. The question of how leaders best develop the relational skills they need in creating collaborative working environment requires more investigation. In particular, the study of how leaders manage the trade-off between external and internal networks ties to enhance organizational performance is a topic that deserves greater attention. More research is also needed about the impact of leadership on the development of social capital.

There is little theoretical work relating directly to evaluation of inter-agency collaboration. It would be particularly important for further research to identify factors that influence collaboration in specific settings. Future studies on this topic may wish to address factors contributing to the success or failure of collaborative efforts in various school reform models and across diverse communities. These inquiries could help to transform the abstract goal of collaboration into effective structures for school improvement and community cohesion.

⁸ The study is conducted by the team which involves Newcastle University, Manchester University, Tecis Ltd, and BMRB. This project is funded by the Department of Education.

8.6 Reflection on My Intellectual Journey

I have been asked so many times why I decided to study the topic of the 'extended schools' programme, or who advised me to do it. I think it would be a good idea to explain it here. When I completed my Master of Research (Education) I knew that for a PhD project I would like to have an interesting topic that I am passionate about as I was going to explore it for three years. I definitely knew that the focus should be on 'leadership and management' in schools in England. I had read extensively the literature around leadership and I also discussed it with a British friend. I once met my friend when she was going to pick up her son from a Children's Centre. I knew nothing about children's centres and how they differ from nursery schools. I was told by my friend that this was a new UK government educational initiative for children, and this was the first time I heard about extended schools. It sounded interesting and I decided to find out more about them. The 'extended schools' topic was too vague at the beginning, and it took me some time to find the 'right' focus, but now I am glad that I have been working on a research project that contributes to existing knowledge and might make a difference to policy and practice.

I had previous experience of conducting research projects in schools while I was working as a researcher at the National Institute of Education in Belarus. However, it was a different experience as I worked in a team with other researchers from the Institute. This was not the same as being a 'solo' researcher when you have sole ownership of the project.

Being critical while reading other people's work is an important strategy I have learnt from these years. I come from a place where there is a more authoritarian system, where you are always told what to do, where critical reading and questioning others' ideas is not encouraged. I think the PhD process in the UK has been an eye-opening and enriching

experience for me. I have become aware of the concept of critical thinking and how to use it in the research project.

Another useful lesson I have learnt throughout the PhD process is the importance of theory in a study. I can say that I disliked theories until I started to understand them. I believe this is crucial for the success of a project. The PhD process has enabled me to learn more about principles and strategies of qualitative research and how useful they could be in generating new knowledge. Furthermore, my fieldwork in schools and organizations in England has been a challenging and rewarding experience. I have met with so many people and have learnt how to build and use networks while conducting a research project.

Finally, my study has highlighted a range of topics which need to be researched further. Clearly, there are some practical questions to which policy makers as well as practitioners in schools need to get answers urgently. I know that many researchers do research, publish papers but not so many ask: what we are doing with it later on? How can we help to improve the practice? I believe that I will continue my professional career as a researcher in the field of education and my motto will be: 'How am I making a difference?'

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Research approval from the Open University



MEMORANDUM

HUMAN PARTICIPANTS AND MATERIALS ETHICS COMMITTEE

FROM: John Oates, Chair, HPMEC **Email:** j.m.oates@open.ac.uk

To: Natallia Yakavets – postgraduate student at the FELS- CREET, the Open University **TEL:** 52395

CC: **DATE:** 22 April 2008

SUBJECT: Ethics application: Leadership in Extended Schools: Working in Inter-agency collaborative context **Ref:** HPMEC/08/#423/1

This memorandum is to confirm that the research protocol for the above-named research project, as submitted on 14th April 2008, is approved by the Open University Human Participants and Materials Ethics Committee, subject to satisfactory responses to the following:

You are asked to:

1. Provide copies of proposed consent forms for approval;
2. Give details of the anticipated ages of the student participants;
3. Confirm that you have a current Criminal Records Bureau enhanced disclosure;
4. Specify the selection criteria for the various participant categories;
5. Clarify why the manager/coordinator of extended services is included in some lists of participant categories and not in others;
6. Ensure that all documents that are given to members of the public are fully proof-read and corrected;
7. Outline the basis on which you will be introduced to the meetings that you hope to attend and how the consent to attend will be sought.
8. Provide replies to these requests to myself for review.

At the conclusion of your project, by the date that you stated in your application, the Committee would like to receive a summary report on the progress of this project, any ethical issues that have arisen and how they have been dealt with.

John Oates
Chair, OU HPMEC

Letter to Participants

May (August) 2008

Information letter to the Local Authority

Dear xxx

My name is Natalia Yakavets and I am a PhD student at the Open University currently researching a project entitled 'Leadership in Extended Schools: working in inter-agency collaborative context'. I am writing to you to seek your help in your capacity as Extended Services Strategy Manager. I would like to organise some interviews, as well as make observations and gather documents relating to an extended school that you manage.

I wonder if I could outline below the details of my requirements.

Background

The research project aims to explore the processes through which leaders from education and other fields (e.g. health; social service; voluntary, and others) interpreted the demands of the extended schools agenda and created policies that address the demands identified. Particular attention will be paid to the ways in which school staff are incorporated into the policy making process, the extent to which external agencies are involved in or shape school policy, and the relationships that develop between the school leaders and other actors.

This study will offer an analysis of skills that educational leaders need to practise for working with other people from a different culture, to be able to respond to a changing environment and display their achievements to the local community.

Interviews

I would like to have an individual interview with :

- the manager/or coordinator of extended services (LA)
- the cluster co-ordinator of a cluster of extended schools

It is envisaged that each interview will last approximately 45-60 minutes and will be audio recorded (subject to participants' agreement). Each interviewee will have the opportunity to sign consent forms

Observations

I am hoping to make non-participating observations during stakeholders meetings (i.e. meetings involving representatives from the school, the LA, external agencies and the community). I would like to attend several meetings and to observe discussions between all stakeholders.

Documents

I would also be grateful for access to the following documents:

- The extended services plans and relevant documents

Timing of the research project

I am planning for the research project to take place from **April to June 2008** (pilot study) and from **September 2008 to July 2009** (main study). The date and time of interviews and observations will be agreed with participants in advance.

Ethical issues

The LA, the school, a partner organization and all participants in the research project will remain anonymous and in the final report will be referred to in generic terms, namely such as LA Extended School Manager, Headteacher, Member of the Community, Respondent from a Partner Agency etc.

The information held will be used for research purposes only, and access to the full information will be limited to those directly involved in the research project as researchers and supervisors. The data for the research project will be held by Natalia Yakavets. Participants will be given the opportunity to check and amend interview transcripts.

I wonder if you would be good enough to contact me so that we can take the first steps in working together.

I appreciate your time in considering this matter and if you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me at the below e-mail address.

Yours sincerely,

Natalia Yakavets

PhD Student

FELS/CREET, The Open University

e-mail: N.Yakavets@open.ac.uk tel.: 019086 52767

Information letter to schools

Dear xxx

Ref.: Seeking Access to Conduct Research in Your School

My name is Natalia Yakavets and I am a PhD student at the Open University currently researching a project entitled: 'Leadership in Extended Schools: working in inter-agency collaborative context'. I am writing to you to seek your help. I would like to organise some interviews, questionnaires as well as make observations and gather documents relating to extended services at your school. I wonder if I could outline below the details of my requirements.

Background

My research project aims to explore the processes through which school leaders interpret the demands of the extended schools agenda and creates policies that address the demands identified. Particular attention will be paid to the ways in which school staff are incorporated into the policy making process, the extent to which external agencies are involved in or shape school policy, and the relationships that develop between the school leaders other actors.

The study will offer an analysis of skills that educational leaders need to practise for working with other people from a different culture, for responding to a changing environment and for displaying their achievements to the local community.

Interviews

I would like **to have an individual interview with** :

- the headteacher
- the manager or coordinator of extended services in a school
- teachers

It is envisaged that each interview will last approximately 45-60 minutes and will be audio recorded (subject to participants' agreement). Each interviewee will have the opportunity to sign consent forms.

Observations

I am hoping to make non-participating observations during stakeholder meetings (i.e. meetings involving representatives from the school, the LA, external agencies and the community). I would like to attend several meetings and to observe discussions between all stakeholders.

Documents

I would also be grateful for access to the following documents:

- The school prospectus
- The school improvement plan
- The school self-evaluation plan
- The extended services plans and relevant documents

Timing of the research project

I am planning for the research project to take place in two stages from April to June 2008 and from September 2008 to July 2009. The date and time of interviews and observations will be agreed with participants in advance.

Ethical issues

The LA, the school, a partner organization and all participants in the research project will remain anonymous and in the final report will be referred to in generic terms, namely such as Extended Schools Manager, Headteacher, Member of the Community, Teacher, etc.

The information held will be used for research purposes only, and access to the full information will be limited to those directly involved in the research project as researchers and supervisors. The data for the research project will be kept secure by Natalia Yakavets. Participants will be given the opportunity to check and amend interview transcripts.

I wonder if you would be good enough to contact me so that we can take the first steps in working together.

I appreciate your time in considering this matter and if you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me at the below e-mail address.

Yours sincerely,

Natalia Yakavets

PhD Student FELS/CREET, The Open University

e-mail: N.Yakavets@open.ac.uk

tel.: 019086 52767

The Faculty of Education & Language Studies

Leadership in Extended Schools: Working in an Inter-Agency Collaborative Context'

Agreement to Participate

I, (print name)

Agree to take part in this research project.
I have had the purposes of the research explained to me.
I have been informed that I may refuse to participate at any point by simply saying so.
I have been assured that my confidentiality will be protected as specified in the letter/leaflet.
I agree that the information that I provide can be used for educational or research purposes, including publication.
I understand that if I have any concerns I can contact:

Natallia Yakavets

at:

Faculty of Education & Language Studies
The Open University
Stuart Hall Building (Floor 3)
Walton Hall
Milton Keynes MK7 6AA

Centre for Research in Education & Educational Technology (CREET)
The Open University
Stuart Hall Building (Ground Floor)
Walton Hall
Milton Keynes MK7 6AA

If I want to talk with someone else about this project, I can contact the Director of CREET at:

I assign the copyright for my contribution to the Faculty for use in education, research and publication.

Signed:

Date:

Interview Guide for the Local Authority (Extended Services Team)

Personal Background

1. How long have you been working in the local authority?
2. What does your job entail?

Understanding the UK government Extended Schools Agenda and Leadership Practice

1. What do you see the Extended Schools agenda as being?
 - What activities do you think it requires?
 - Could you please describe how the Extended Schools agenda is being delivered in the city?
2. What management and governance structure (s) that is (are) set up to lead ES developments in the area ?
 - How well do you think this (these) structure (s) is (are) working?
 - What do you think is need to be improved?
3. What sort of support and guidance can clusters (partnerships) expect from other organizations (in relation to the ES agenda)?
 - Would you feel they are receiving this support? If not, what might you do to try and increase it? If yes, what has happened to bring this about?
4. Where does the leadership of ES initiatives lie?
 - Who are the key stakeholders in the area that are moving forward the ES agenda? Who plays the main role?
 - Which agency is responsible for what and where the initiative lies in relation to each?
5. Who manages responsibilities across different agencies involved in the ES agenda?
6. What practices help to build rapport between LA/schools/partner organizations/community?
 - What are some of difficulties?
 - What practices help to overcome difficulties? Please give an example.
7. How important is it for the partners who are working to provide the extended school services to be able to trust each other?
 - When we talk about 'trusting one another' what do you think that involves?
 - What can you do to promote and sustain trusting relationships within the partnerships/community and different agencies involved? Please give examples.
8. What leadership qualities and attributes can be seen as essential in an inter-agency environment (in a collaborative environment)?
 - To what degree is leadership shared across different organizations involved in the ES agenda?
 - Is leadership shared consistently, or in a limited number of areas or with a small number of people?
 - Are there opportunities to promote the sharing of leadership further?
 - What are the barriers to sharing leadership within a inter-agency environment?
9. What leadership practices can be seen as essential in an inter-agency environment?

- What leadership practices (activities/actions) can best promote further community participation? Please give examples.
10. What is the impact of ES on:
 - The school as a whole – its culture; teaching and learning;
 - Pupils;
 - Parents;
 - Community;
 - Other agencies.
 11. There is a strategy for 2008-2010 in the city - 'from emerging services to sustainable services' according to the Core Offer of services. What is important for sustaining the ES agenda?
 12. In your opinion, what is a difference between extended schools and traditional schools?
 - How is this different from the traditional understanding of what a school is/should do?

END

Interview Guide for the School

Personal background

1. For how long have you been in this school?
2. For how long have you been a headteacher? Or (assistant headteacher?)

Understanding the UK government Extended Schools Agenda and Leadership Practice

1. What do you see the Extended Schools (ES) agenda as being?
 - What activities do you think it requires?
 - Could you please describe how the ES agenda is being delivered in your school?
2. What management and governance structure(s) has (have) been set up to lead extended services development on a day-to-day basis?
 - How well do you think this (these) structure (s) is (are) working?
 - Where in the school particular responsibilities lie?
3. What sort of support and guidance can the school expect from other organizations (in relation to the ES agenda)?
 - Do you feel you (your school) are receiving this support? If not, what might you do to try and increase it? If yes, what has happened to bring this about?
4. Where does the leadership of extended schools programme lie?
 - Which agency is responsible for what and where the initiative lies in relation to each?
 - Who are the key stakeholders in your area that are moving forward the ES agenda?
 - Who plays the main role?
5. Who manages responsibilities across different agencies involved in the ES agenda?
 - What practices help to build rapport between LA/schools/partner organizations/community? What are some of difficulties?
 - What practices help to overcome difficulties?
 - Who has power and why do you think so? Please, give an example.
6. How important is it for the partners who are working to provide the extended school services to be able to trust each other?
 - When we talk about 'trusting one another' what do you think that involves?
 - What can you do to promote and sustain trusting relationships within the cluster(s)/community and different agencies involved? *Please give examples.*
7. How do you think your role as the headteacher has changed since beginning the ES activities in your school? (If it has, please give some examples).
 - How does the ES agenda effect on distribution of work, roles and status within a school?
 - How much control do you feel you have in the external relationships?
8. What leadership qualities and attributes can be seen as essential in an inter-agency environment (in a collaborative environment)?
 - To what degree is leadership shared across different organizations involved in the ES agenda?
 - Is leadership shared consistently, or in a limited number of areas or with a small number of people?
 - Are there opportunities to promote the sharing of leadership further? W
 - What are the barriers to sharing leadership within a inter-agency environment?

9. What leadership practices can be seen as essential in an inter-agency environment?
10. How do you engage with the community?
 - How do you identify the needs of schools and of the local communities in relation to the ES agenda?
 - How do you engage with 'hard to reach members of community'?
11. What leadership practices (activities/actions) can best promote further community participation? Please give examples.
12. What is the impact of ES on:
 - The school as a whole – its culture; teaching and learning;
 - Pupils;
 - Parents;
 - Community and other agencies.
13. What is important for sustaining the ES agenda?
14. In your opinion, what is a difference between extended schools and traditional schools?
 - How is this different from the traditional understanding of what a school is/should do?

END

Interview Guide for a Partner Organization

Personal Background

3. How long have you been working in the local authority?
4. What does your job entail?

Understanding the UK government Extended Schools Agenda and Leadership Practice

1. What do you see the ES agenda as being?
 - What activities do you think it requires?
 - What role does your organization play?
2. What management and governance structure(s) has (have) been set up to lead ES development in the city/area?
 - How well do you think this (these) structure (s) is (are) working?
3. What sort of support and guidance can the schools expect from your organization (in relation to the ES agenda)?
4. Where does the leadership of ES initiatives lie?
 - Which agency is responsible for what and where the initiative lies in relation to each?
 - Who are the key stakeholders in your area that are moving forward the ES agenda? Who plays the main role?
5. Who manages responsibilities across different agencies involved in the ES agenda?
6. What practices help to build rapport between LA/schools/partner organizations/community?
 - What are some of difficulties?
 - What strategies (practices) help to overcome difficulties?
 - Who has power and why do you think so? Please, give an example.
7. How important is it for the partners who are working to provide the extended school services to be able to trust each other?
 - When we talk about 'trusting one another' what do you think that involves?
 - What can you do to promote and sustain trusting relationships within the school(s)/community and different agencies involved? *Please give examples.*
 - How much control do you feel you have in the external relationships?
8. What leadership qualities and attributes can be seen as essential in a inter-agency environment (in a collaborative environment)?
 - To what degree is leadership shared across different organizations involved in the ES agenda?
 - Is leadership shared consistently, or in a limited number of areas or with a small number of people?
 - Are there opportunities to promote the sharing of leadership further?
 - What are the barriers to sharing leadership within a inter-agency environment?
 - What leadership practices can be seen as essential in a inter-agency environment?
9. What consultation methods have been established between your organization and: schools, parents, community, partner agencies?

- Which areas/groups in the community are reaching out to most successfully, and which ones are proving to be 'hard to reach'?
 - How do you engage with 'hard to reach members of community'?
10. What leadership strategies (activities/actions) can best promote further community participation? Please give examples.
11. What is the impact of ES on:
- The school as a whole – its culture; teaching and learning;
 - Pupils;
 - Parents;
 - Community and other agencies.
12. What is important for sustaining the ES agenda?
13. In your opinion, what is a difference between extended schools and traditional schools?
- How is this different from the traditional understanding of what a school is/should do?

END